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SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

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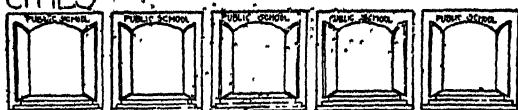
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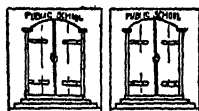
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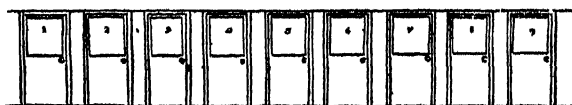


STOP SCHOOLS

CLASSES



START



STOP

PUPILS



STAY



LEAVE

TURNOVER IN IMMIGRANT EDUCATION WITHIN ONE SCHOOL YEAR
(See Chap. III)

AMERICANIZATION STUDIES

ALLEN T. BURNS, DIRECTOR

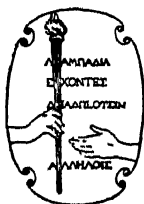
SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

BY

FRANK V. THOMPSON

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS



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SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Americanization in these studies has been considered as the union of native and foreign born in all the most fundamental relationships and activities of our national life. For Americanization is the uniting of new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of individual and collective self-direction the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should perpetuate no unchangeable political, domestic, and economic régime delivered once for all to the fathers, but a growing and broadening national life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best through a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the commonweal. These studies have followed such an understanding of Americanization.

FOREWORD

THIS volume is the result of studies in methods of Americanization prepared through funds furnished by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It arose out of the fact that constant applications were being made to the Corporation for contributions to the work of numerous agencies engaged in various forms of social activity intended to extend among the people of the United States, the knowledge of their government and their obligations to it. The trustees felt that a study which should set forth, not theories of social betterment, but a description of the methods of the various agencies engaged in such work, would be of distinct value to the cause itself and to the public.

The outcome of the study is contained in eleven volumes on the following subjects: Schooling of the Immigrant; The Press; Adjustment of Homes and Family Life; Legal Protection and Correction; Health Standards and Care; Naturalization and Political Life; Industrial and Economic Amalgamation; Treatment of Immigrants; Heritages; Neighborhood Agencies and Organization; Rural Developments; and Summary. The entire study has been carried out under the general direction of Mr. Allen T. Burns. Each

FOREWORD

volume appears in the name of the author who had immediate charge of the particular field it is intended to cover.

Upon the invitation of the Carnegie Corporation a committee consisting of the late Theodore Roosevelt, Prof. John Graham Brooks, Dr. John M. Glenn, and Mr. John A. Voll has acted in an advisory capacity to the director. An editorial committee consisting of Dr. Talcott Williams, Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, and Dr. Edwin F. Gay has read and criticized the manuscripts. To both of these committees the trustees of the Carnegie Corporation are much indebted.

The purpose of the report is to give as clear a notion as possible of the methods of the agencies actually at work in this field and not to propose theories for dealing with the complicated questions involved.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book has been in preparation since the summer of 1918 and was completed November 1, 1919. The author would call the reader's attention to the kaleidoscopic passage of events during this period. Never in a similar space of time has there occurred so much affecting human thinking and human destiny. At the beginning of this period the Germans were shelling Paris and seemed destined to make a footstool of the world, our own nation included. At the end of this period an old order had passed and a new order was being ushered in. This new order seems at the time of publication of this volume to have brought us as much discomfort and confusion as the domination of autocracy appeared to threaten.

The reader will detect, I doubt not, some reflection of the rapid march of events in the character of this volume. The first chapter now appears to the author as a somewhat academic discussion of the ways in which the school can be a factor in the process of nationalization; the final chapter is largely a plea for the preservation of democracy. The first chapter centers attention upon a minority group in our population—namely, the immigrant; the last chapter

INTRODUCTION

deals with the immigrant only in the setting of the native group which is seeking to Americanize him, and which seems to have developed uncertainty as to the ideals and principles which it would have the immigrant adopt. No one can doubt that there has taken place a rather complete overturn of ideas respecting Americanization during this period of change; the term itself is being abandoned and we are substituting other terms, such as "citizenship" and "national unification."

The author takes this occasion to acknowledge the assistance of those collaborators who have made the volume possible. Chapter V was prepared by Mr. Henry Goldberger, lecturer at Teachers College, New York; Chapters VI and VII by Mr. S. A. Courtis, in charge of research for the public schools of Detroit, Michigan; Chapter VIII by Mr. John J. Mahoney, director of immigrant education for the state of Massachusetts; Chapter IX by Mr. M. J. Downey, director of evening schools, Boston, Massachusetts; Chapter X by Mr. Raymond Moley, chairman of the Americanization Committee, of Cleveland, Ohio. The remaining chapters represent the authorship of the writer solely. The chapters written by the collaborators have been edited by the author, and in some instances substantially reduced in content to make possible their inclusion in this volume. In personnel the collaborators represent the ablest specialists in the fields of their contributions. The author believes that the reader is entitled to receive at first hand the

INTRODUCTION

ideas of these specialists and, consequently, has not attempted to reproduce their messages, but has presented them largely as they were prepared for the purposes of this volume.

FRANK V. THOMPSON.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
November 1, 1919.

SCHOOLING OF THE
IMMIGRANT

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

I

THE SCHOOL AND NATIONALIZATION

AMERICA is looking with anxious hope to the school as the chief instrument of Americanization. It may be proper for one whose thesis maintains the importance of the school as an agent of Americanization to point to the danger of regarding the school as the sole factor or as an isolated instrument apart from other forces. Modern views of elementary education furnish an analogy: as the result of the application of scientific tests for determining and testing the abilities of school children we are recognizing and even measuring the influence of outside-of-school experiences in the attainment of school standards. Children often make better scores in arithmetic at the end of the summer vacation than at the end of the preceding school term; the child grows in power to perform arithmetical operations by making purchases at the store, by handling change, by buying war savings stamps.

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

Ability to read—that is, ability to interpret ideas from printed words—is often acquired by means of the disapproved paper-covered tale of adventure as well as through the carefully expurgated models of literature proffered by the school, and we no longer doubt the influences, good and bad, of the moving-picture show. The child who graduates from the elementary school at fourteen, having followed the customary school course, has an accumulation of ideas and habits which are the result of quite complex forces. One would hesitate to say definitely how much of the good should be credited to the school or how much of the good and bad to outside-of-school influences. We are assuming too much, consequently, when we conclude that the formal schooling of the immigrant will automatically solve the problem of Americanization. Not only the school, but the home, the church, the street, the playground, the moving picture, the job, are factors which determine the character and tendencies of the citizen.

NEED OF A COMMON LANGUAGE

An analysis of the figures¹ relating to ability to speak our tongue among the foreign born in

¹ The number of foreign-born whites ten years of age and over, in 1910, was 12,944,529; of these, 2,953,011 were unable to speak English in that year. The total number of foreign-born whites in the United States in 1910 was 13,345,543; of this number 3,383,110 came from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and non-French Canada, so that practically all the remainder, 9,962,435, were unable to speak English at the time of their arrival in this country (computed from *Thirteenth Census of the U. S.*, vol. i, pp. 322, 879,

THE SCHOOL AND NATIONALIZATION

this country will indicate that the school has not been the controlling factor in the immigrant's acquisition of English. Of the 13,000,000 immigrants ten years of age and over in our country in 1910, 3,000,000 were found to be non-English-speaking. Of the whole number of immigrants, 10,000,000 were not acquainted with English at the time of their arrival. Only a small proportion, 760,000 of the 13,000,000, were young enough to come under the compulsory-school-attendance laws of the various states. About 7,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants had learned our language sufficiently well to be recorded as English-speaking in the census of 1910, and must have acquired their knowledge of English largely outside of the schools, for we may not conclude that it was acquired in the evening schools, since the figures of attendance for this agency in that period are quite negligible. Let us recognize the fact that the majority of our immigrants of non-English-speaking origin have learned to speak English, but have acquired this knowledge outside of the schools. It is also true that there was a minority of 3,000,000 immigrants who had failed to learn to speak English either in or outside of the schools, and

1266). The total number of foreign-born whites fourteen years of age and under, in 1910, was 759,346 (*ibid.*). The total number of foreign-born whites ten years of age and over, able to speak English, in 1910, was 9,991,518. Deducting from this 3,278,233, the number of persons ten years of age and over who came from English-speaking countries (estimated as 97 per cent of the total number from these countries), the remainder, 6,713,285, is the number of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries who could speak English in 1910 (*ibid.*).

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there is no record of the far greater number who cannot read nor write English.¹ These latter facts are one of the significant reasons for the subsequent discussion.

In spite of this seeming deprecation of the influence of the school upon the immigrant it remains true that the school can be the most important force in reducing materially the large degree of ignorance of our language among the foreign born. Progressive nations and states are able to reduce illiteracy among their native-born population and among children of foreign parentage to a fraction of 1 per cent. Extension of compulsory-attendance requirements to include higher age groups would reduce the comparatively large numbers of immigrants who cannot speak nor read English. The school is always an effective agent when its resources are used; it is an institution under public control and consequently the most effective means for exercising definite influence.

The objection may be raised that public control of the school extends only to public schools, and that the numerous pupils attending private institutions may miss the intended influence. The spirit of democratic institutions always is to give freedom of choice respecting education, and very likely this freedom will continue to be maintained, with probably some greater assurances that certain school practices contributing to the integrity of a common citizenship will be charged uniformly upon all private-school in-

¹ See chap. ii, p. 62.

THE SCHOOL AND NATIONALIZATION

struction. To illustrate: private schools in which instruction is given solely or in too large a measure in a foreign tongue will probably be required by law to teach sufficient English to guarantee a competent knowledge of it in their pupils.

To many, the guaranties respecting freedom of religious worship have been involved in the educational question. Many native-born Americans fail to understand the close connection in the alien's mind between language and religion. There is a close connection between these forces even for English-speaking peoples; founders, leaders, and authorities of English religious sects have been uniformly English in blood and have taught and written their convictions in that tongue. The English bible is in effect a particular covenant for the majority of the English-speaking peoples. With the foreign born, however, the connection is often even more intimate because of previous repressions which have threatened this association; religious devotion and feeling are inextricably bound up with the native language, so that, in spite of lack of such intention on our part, when we begin to propose compulsion about language we probably seem to the foreign born to infringe upon religious rights. This fact is what has caused religious leaders of foreign-born groups to oppose language compulsions. We may have assumed that these religious leaders were opponents of national loyalty, when in effect they were striving primarily to conserve religious rights and heritages.

It should be remembered that education in

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this country has uniformly been held, in theory, at least, to be in part a state function. This theory maintains that when education is entrusted to a private institution, the latter is commissioned by the state to perform in some degree a state function, and that certain requirements deemed essential to efficient educational work—*e.g.*, regular attendance, health examinations, etc.—are to be met as they would be by public institutions. There are communities and perhaps states where this procedure is “more honored in the breach than in the observance,” but we may expect that our former indifference to this condition will disappear. Many states now require in private elementary schools the teaching of all the fundamental subjects found in the curriculums of public schools. Some states, such as Massachusetts and Connecticut, now provide that required subjects of study be taught in the English language.¹ The prediction may be made that many states will adopt similar requirements and enforce their regulations. The nation itself, through Federal control, may well secure from the several states guaranties respecting the universalizing of instruction in English. Thus, in theory at least, all elementary schools, public and private, are definitely controlled agencies with an important aim, that of preparation for citizenship; criticism may be directed not so justly to the fundamental theory as to the failure of its operation. The school, both public and private, may and we hope will become a

¹ See chap. ix.

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powerful influence for a progressive unification in our continually renewed diversity of citizenship.

EUROPEAN ATTEMPTS

We may pass on to a consideration of the experiences of other countries in dealing with the problem of nationalization through the medium of education. We are not the only or even the most heterogeneous nation; Austria-Hungary was likewise many-peopled, but yet very different in the conditions of her heterogeneity. In that country the different races were to be found in more or less segregated provinces where they had lived for long periods. Austria-Hungary was a union, or more properly a loose confederation, of states and provinces which had been brought perforce into an unwilling union, and now have become again autonomous. Serious attempts were continuously being made, particularly in Hungary, to nationalize the distinct peoples through the schools, by means of imposing a common language; the Italians in the unredeemed provinces were constantly harassed with language restrictions. In spite of persecution each racial element cherished its own language, habits, and culture; Austria-Hungary was at best a turbulent and jarring confederacy, not a nation. Few will assume, however, that the reason for lack of unity was so simple a matter as the lack of a common language.

Switzerland, made up of three racial elements, German, French, and Italian, shows a greater

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national solidarity. The cementing force of democratic institutions has brought about among the varied racial groups a toleration and sympathy not found in Austria-Hungary. But in Switzerland we find in the schools no common language and no definite program for attaining unity, with a common language as the instrument. In one part of Switzerland, German is the language of the schools; in another section French is the official language; and in yet another area Italian is the medium of instruction. In the Swiss Parliament all three languages are officially recognized.

Germany, too, has had her language problem, particularly in her Polish and French provinces. Germany, contrary to world experience in policies of language restriction, has attempted to Germanize her subject peoples by means of insisting upon a common language, as instanced in her dealings with Alsace-Lorraine and German Poland. While Germany may have in part imposed her language, she has not achieved the intended result of nationalization. The German procedure shows strikingly that the mere imposition of a language cannot automatically bring about nationalization, a fact which uncompromising advocates of compulsion in this country should note.¹

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

We are counseled that history contains nothing but warnings. There is apparently no successful

¹ See *Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule*, by Charles S. Hazen.

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precedent as to nationalization, by means of either a common language taught in the schools or other devices, for us to follow in our contemplated program of Americanization. There are two reasons, however, why we hope for success where others may have failed.

The first is the fact that on the point of a common language we have already achieved some measure of success even with our inadequate program. As has been stated, the census of 1910 reports about thirteen million foreign-born persons in our land, and of this number about three million who were unable to speak English. From figures given above it is evident that the majority of non-English-speaking immigrants learn in some degree to speak our common tongue. The figures relating to non-English-speaking immigrants who become citizens show that a considerable portion obtain sufficient knowledge of English to meet the qualifications for naturalization.¹ We have seen that our non-English-speaking immigrants have not acquired English as the result of formal schooling; for the statistics show that in one school year (1910) only a small percentage of adult non-English-speaking immigrants were found in our schools (1.3 per cent). There are agencies other than public schools for learning English,

¹ Up to the census of 1910, 2,270,208 non-English-speaking immigrants had become naturalized—about one-third of the whole number who had learned to speak English. Naturalization tests differ as to standards in various sections of the United States, and statistics of naturalization cannot be relied upon as evidences of knowledge of English among those naturalized.

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but it is certain that the total number of immigrants reached by private agencies is less than the number attending public schools. Nevertheless, without compulsion, usually in the past without encouragement, our non-English-speaking immigrants have acquired our language in some degree—from association with those speaking it, from newspapers, from contacts in labor unions and like organizations. If so much in the way of learning English has been achieved with so little organized attention to the process, we may conclude that with more effort and more competent purposeful attention much more can be accomplished. We may consequently be hopeful for the success of a program of Americanization properly conceived and wisely administered.

The fact that the problem of nationalization which confronts us is essentially different from that of all other nations is a second reason for our confidence. No lengthy array of arguments is necessary to demonstrate the truth of this assertion. As has been pointed out, older countries in attempting to nationalize their foreign-born inhabitants have usually dealt with conquered or subject peoples who resided in provinces and districts once autonomous. To these subject peoples nationalization or conformity to the wishes or to the might of the controlling group meant destruction of their own cherished order, which was naturally a cause for resentment and opposition. Language, perhaps more potently than religion, is the symbol of racial personality

THE SCHOOL AND NATIONALIZATION

exalted as the right which even might may not take away; in other words, among these subject races language has been held a fundamental right which no constitution of men may remove. Our immigrants, consequently, arrive with a strong inherent hostility to all attempts to suppress their language.

Another situation with respect to the new language is presented when the immigrant seeks our shores. He comes to our land as a place of opportunity and is not driven by the sword of conquest. He does not come under our jurisdiction as the result of compulsion or of the ruthless exercise of power. There is a moral and easily recognized obligation on the part of those who seek another land as a haven or as a place of opportunity; this obligation implies that those seeking admittance should make reasonable effort to conform to the customs and become acquainted with the language of the nation receiving them. In this country we may expect, consequently, a different mental attitude toward nationalization on the part of the alien than that found in older countries where the problem has proved insolvable.

COMPULSION OR PERSUASION

In a contemplated program of Americanization, the important decision that confronts us is whether we shall proceed by means of a policy of compulsion or by one of persuasion. Shall we insist that the stranger who has entered our

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land shall by force of law and compulsion acquire our language, conform to our major customs, become naturalized, and renounce all prior allegiance, or shall we attempt to persuade him to adopt American customs, and to use our language, by pointing out the moral obligation, by furnishing convenient means in the way of free instruction, and perhaps by granting privileges which may be withheld from the non-citizen? A no less important question may be raised as to whether or not compulsion, if adopted, shall be employed in the case of those who are already here or only in the case of those who may come in the future.

It is desirable at this point merely to raise these issues and not to attempt a commitment. Americanization is one of the issues raised by the war. A realization of past shortcomings is keen in time of war and we hasten to make amends. Emergencies are usually met by compulsory measures, and the recent war emergency has increased the tendency to meet all situations by such means. The situation has its dangers as well as its advantages, and there may be a danger in formulating our program of Americanization at this moment, as we may incline to extreme measures. Having gone too slowly before, we may now be tempted to go too fast. Having undertaken too little till now, we may undertake too much; from no regulation we may jump to overregulation, from a policy of *laissez-faire* and individualism to ordinance and autocracy. We are beginning to realize that

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the spirit of autocracy is not peculiar to any one race or country, and is potential at least in the freest of governments and present somewhere in the instincts of all of us. It is only when this spirit controls and dominates that the resulting government is denominated an autocracy and the individual an autocrat. It is the principle of democracy always to make decisions on the theory that there are two sides to every question and some good on each side. Autocracy and Bolshevism agree in method, at least, in that under either of these, decisions are made from but one point of view, with no admission that there can be an opposite standpoint.

We may suspect the so-called 100-per-cent Americans of holding autocratic views with regard to a proper program of Americanization. With undoubted zeal and single-minded purpose they would within a brief period of time compel all non-English-speaking immigrants, those here now as well as those to come, to acquire the English language; they would compel the taking out of citizenship papers and conformity in dress, manners, and mode of living to the standard of native Americans. They would by edict abolish the Little Italies, the Little Hungaries, and the ghettos. They would have the recent comers abandon former dreams, hopes, and aspirations, and feel, act, and live in the ways that are natural to the native born, who have been more fortunate in environment and circumstances. They demand, in fact, a revolution in the life of the foreign-born individual. The

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native who makes this demand is unconscious of the evolution which several generations have produced in himself. If Americanism¹ is primarily a mode of thinking and feeling, the compulsionist is forced to maintain the theory that habits of thinking and feeling can be manufactured by force and decree.

Those who would limit compulsion to immigrants who are to come in the future, and who may be duly notified of the new condition, make a stronger case than the compulsionists who would resort to an *ex post facto* procedure and require those who are already here to conform to a regulation not obtaining at the time of their coming. The recent literacy amendment to our immigration laws (May, 1917) imposes nothing retroactive. The imposition of an additional amendment requiring literacy in the English language for those who wish to enter our country, a literacy to be acquired within a limited number of years subsequent to entrance, would have the virtue of a contract known in advance.

Opposed to the compulsionist is the advocate of voluntary nationalization. At the present time he is little less embarrassed than is the compulsionist. His system does not seem to have got anywhere. Most of our communities¹ have not set up provisions for the education of the immigrant, and where communities have done so there is always the disappointing discrepancy between the number of those who are attracted and those who we wish might be. A curious

¹ See chap. iii.

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paradox seems involved in estimating the advantages of either method: to democratize our newer brethren we must resort to autocratic procedure; the democratic method does not promise to democratize. But the democratic method at least has permitted the immigrant to Americanize himself. There has been going on an automatic process of Americanization which our democratic method has permitted and encouraged; while it is regrettable that there is so large a number of non-English-speaking immigrants among us, it is also surprising and pleasing that the greater proportion of our foreign born have sought and acquired that which we have not forced upon them.

CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

All the preceding discussion concerns the procedure adopted or proposed for adult immigrants, those who might resort to evening schools, factory classes, home instruction, or to other forms of part-time schooling. Immigrant children and the children of immigrants come under the compulsory-education law, a compulsion of another nature than that discussed for the adult. If some degree of amalgamation has taken place in this country, if the kind of Americanism we now find may be likened to a stream with varying and unequal currents and not to a series of parallel water courses, then the school must be given credit for a considerable part in the achievement.

An astonishing fact about the work of the

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common schools is that Americanization has scarcely been a conscious motive. Americanization has taken place through the schools, but it has been an unconscious by-product; Americanization has been in the background among the objectives of the teachers' efforts, but specifically the teacher has been more concerned with the fundamental processes of education and with the fine and industrial arts. There is very seldom designated in the elementary-school weekly program of 1,500 minutes any subject entitled citizenship. The study of civics is often assigned a place in the program of the upper grades, but the study of civics we know may not be estimated as equivalent to a training in citizenship. Training and promotion for teachers involve a multitude of requirements, but nowhere among these is there a test of acquaintanceship with the problem of Americanization.

And yet Americanization and citizenship are usual resultants of all school training. The child receives impressions, inspirations, and impulses from the picture he sees in the classroom, from the stories he reads in his history, from the exercises he attends in the assembly hall, from the celebration of patriotic anniversaries and the salute of the flag. We furnish special classes sometimes for non-English-speaking children, but we do so merely for the purpose of enabling these children to enter the regular grades without delay. We have no special course of study (except in rare instances), or other exceptional

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provision for immigrant children, designed for purposes of Americanization. We do not have anything of this kind even when immigrant children constitute the major portion of, or, as sometimes happens, comprise entirely, the school group. Perhaps this situation is not defensible, but as yet no one has called attention to a condition of neglect.

Unlike the day school, our evening schools as now established, and likewise the proposed extensions of evening schools on some more comprehensive basis, strive to secure results in Americanization by means of specific effort. The subject of citizenship is much more emphasized in evening-school courses of study than in the day schools, and in fact is largely required in all such classes. Material for reading is quite generally patriotic in character and the instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship is made very specific, answering to the standards of citizenship set up by the requirements of the naturalization process. Citizenship is an immediate and pressing problem with the adult immigrant, and may properly be made a motivation of work in evening-school classes. A similar objective is too sophisticated and too remote to make as strong an appeal to the pupils in the day school.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

Turning our attention again to the practices of other nations in using the schools, more particularly the day school, as an instrument for

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nationalization, we may refer to conditions in England, France, Germany, and Japan. England, like our own nation, has made no effort to set up nationalization as a conscious objective. England, like America, has had the ideal of educating the individual child primarily for his own welfare and secondarily for the welfare of the state. English education has emphasized conventional knowledge which enables the individual child to deal with other individuals, has endeavored to give the child some power of æsthetic appreciation for his own personal enjoyment, and more recently has begun to give vocational training, again primarily for the well-being of the child in his after-career as a producer. England, as well as America, has placed its hope in an educational principle which is the reverse of the German doctrine - namely, that collectively strong individuals *will* constitute a strong state, as against the German idea that the strong state *must* be composed of efficient individuals.

German programs of study show that the motive of nationalization is in no way incidental. Whereas English and American courses of study are based on the hope that the well-trained individual may fit somewhere into economic and political society, the German courses of study take care that that end shall be attained. The individual in Germany has been regarded as valuable only as an economic or military unit. It has been previously pointed out that the background of American school influence is na-

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tionalistic, while the courses of study are not. In Germany both background and formal courses of study are nationalistic. In all German courses of study, whatever the social classification of the pupils for whom they are designed, is found a substantial provision of time devoted to religion. While the study of religion would seem to have little to do with nationalization, all experience has shown that religion and nationality are closely interwoven. Experience in this country with private religious schools maintained by racial groups which are not English-speaking has aroused the suspicion that the emphasis upon religious teaching, combined with use of the foreign tongue, has tended not toward nationalization, but toward intro-nationalization. Besides religion as a formal nationalizing principle, we find emphasized in German elementary courses of study the mother tongue, geography, primarily of Germany and of her colonies and dependencies, and history, chiefly of Germany. On the surface it may not appear that the common-school education of Germany is more nationalistic than that of most other countries. The difference is largely one of spirit, not of form. The viciousness of the spirit of the German school system has lain in the inculcation of the "superior race" obsession, together with the notion that Germany was beset by enemies seeking her destruction. No one has doubted either the intensely nationalistic spirit of Germany nor the part that the German school system has had in building this spirit.

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French programs of study, strangely enough are quite similar in form to those found in Germany. In place of religion, however, we find the term *morale*, which means an ethical code not associated with any one form of religion. In French schools, the emphasis upon nationalistic training is marked, especially since religious control of education has been displaced by state pre-eminence. We may all admit that while France in building up a strong state has not had in view the domination of other states, she has had the aim of building a state strong enough to resist the domination of strong enemy states.

Japanese programs of study have frequently been thought to be imitative of German practice. They may be more accurately associated with the French type, in that *morale* is featured instead of religious teaching. The Japanese school is designedly nationalistic in character, and educational forces and instruments are used formally and specifically to this end.

The English and American viewpoint and procedure in education have been international in tendency. The fancied national security of the two nations has made this course easy. It is probable, however, that Americans have never clearly analyzed their motives in this respect, and that our practice has been instinctive, our tendencies native unconscious virtues, if virtues they be in fact. It is likewise probable that America would have continued to go on indefinitely, with no concern about a nationalizing principle in education, had not the war revealed

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some of the dangers of her situation. The issues of the war threatened the continuance of the freedom of thought and action which had made us heedless of the need of nationalization. We suddenly found ourselves in the situation which France has long faced—we must have a national solidarity, not to dominate, but to escape domination.

It seems clear that the principle of nationalization can be good or bad in accordance with the motives which lead to it. No nation can be secure in peace or competent in war without guaranties as to the loyalty and unity of its citizens, and these matters cannot be taken for granted, as we have taken them in the past. Even with its greater homogeneity of population, England in the future may be expected to do much more toward nationalization through her schools. America, with its diversified population, will surely be alert to the need of nationalization through the schools, as perhaps the strongest lesson which the war has taught us.

A FEDERAL FUNCTION

In a peculiar way the problem of immigrant education is essentially a Federal one. The first homes of immigrants are established within a few states. Thus they are initiated into American life at the expense of the few states, though later they may scatter through the others. While the states and communities may actually carry out the program of education, it is the business

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of the Federal government to see that the work is done, furnishing the means if necessary. The Federal government sets up the conditions under which the immigrant may enter the country, and assumes a guardianship, in theory, over the immigrant after he is here. The Federal government sets up the standards for naturalization, tests applicants, and admits to citizenship those deemed worthy. Our accumulating experience with the problems of self-government shows that democracy is conditioned by the degree of education, enlightenment, and virtue of its people. We may assume that the Federal government admits the immigrant primarily that he may participate in its citizenship, and not purely for the purpose of securing cheap labor for our industries. We will not admit that we deliberately wish to set up in the midst of our national life a large nonparticipating group, aliens in tongue, habit, and aspiration. If, therefore, we are sincere in our professions regarding the purposes of citizenship, then the educational obligation is manifest. Yet there is enough in the history of our indifference to the education of the immigrant to justify the accusation that we have sought workers, not citizens. Let us trust that it will not take another war or recurrence of national menace to arouse us to a proper sense of obligation in the education of the immigrant.

The campaign for Americanization began in 1915, and it was at this time that our official bureaus began to formulate programs and to

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seek funds and authority. The Bureau of Naturalization, as well as the Bureau of Education, gave vigorous attention to the problem, though the Bureau of Naturalization before 1915 was not conspicuous for aggressive action looking toward the creation of new citizens from our immigrant population by means of education. It must be confessed that in spite of our official pride in our democratic institutions and our conditions of freedom and opportunity for the oppressed, we have needed gross and utilitarian incentives like those of fear, "safety first," and "it pays," to start us toward the paths of justice and humanity with respect to the immigrant. Now that our fears because of a foreign foe have been allayed, and we have escaped those dangers which we believed imminent, it is unthinkable that we should lapse into our former attitude of indifference.

The war itself has generated and universalized higher and nobler motives. That which we have begun to do from fear we shall continue and enlarge from motives of justice and humanity. We shall not be so much concerned that the immigrant should, by reason of a knowledge of our tongue, be able to avoid accidents and be content to remain at his work or even be able to read food regulations. Rather, we will be concerned that he may be able to share in our citizenship, learn our ideals, contribute his share to the thinking and action of the nation. The opportunity at least for all immigrants to learn our language will be provided by com-

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petent public agencies—whether primarily from Federal, state, or community funds is a question which may be reserved for subsequent discussion. The opportunity will not, as heretofore, be provided, if at all, largely by employer, settlement house, religious or political organization, or by inadequate evening-school facilities.

DEMOCRACY USES ITS SCHOOLS

As in the case of the native born, we place our greatest hope for the improvement of the race in the education of the children, so we must hope and shape our plans with respect to the immigrant. Educational compulsion for the mature cannot overcome the laws of nature; the change or reformation of the adult has its limitations both for native and foreign born. There are those who seem to expect that the immigrant can be made over, although it is recognized that the attempt is futile in the case of the native—a high compliment to the immigrant, but an undeserved one. We may expect, consequently, that results in Americanization will be possible in proportion to the maturity or immaturity of the immigrant at the time of his arrival. For the mature we should not neglect the development of any potentiality for readjustment to American thought and customs. The freest opportunity should be furnished all immigrants, however mature; but our surest hope for uniform and competent results must rest upon the children of the immigrant, who must be provided

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with better facilities than those now obtaining. We should commend and strive to have adopted universally the state legislation that requires part-time school attendance for illiterates under twenty-one years of age; there are, moreover, good arguments for some extension of this limit.

The present period of interest, agitation, and propaganda should be superseded by positive action. At present we are proceeding to do through communities unassisted what should be done by communities assisted by states and aided by Federal agencies. We need comprehensive legislation and more adequate funds; what we are now doing is comparatively inconsiderable. The immigrant has climbed without our helping hand; wherever the immigrant is found, there should be the extended hand. Americanization should not be the result of fortunate accident; democracy cannot be achieved or made safe by accident.

II

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

IN a loose and popular sense the process of Americanization consists in changing immigrants into Americans. There exists an easy assumption to the effect that the immigrant by reason of his inability to speak our language and to follow our customs is necessarily on a lower plane mentally, spiritually, and morally than is the native American. This careless conception makes it easy to look upon Americanization as a kind of process of conversion by which the benighted immigrant joins the elect and abandons his former evil ways. We cannot conclude that such inadequate conceptions are either true or effective in attaining the results which we are seeking. The assumption of a virtue inherent in the native by reason of his being an American, and of lack of it in the immigrant, may turn out to be an error in both respects. Lack of such virtue is less excusable in the native than in the foreign born, for the native has had opportunities which the newcomer has not had. But in a broader and more appropriate sense, Americanization is a process to be applied to both the native and the foreign born. An ideal

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program of Americanization undoubtedly would be to submit both the unworthy native and the unknowing immigrant to the same process, for we need from the standpoint of citizenship to improve our native born as well as to give to the foreign born the chance of becoming citizens. However, from pragmatic considerations, we shall probably continue to prescribe "Americanization" chiefly for the foreign born, though in doing so we should not permit our conception of the process to be controlled by the misapprehension that what is native is necessarily superior and what is foreign is necessarily inferior. Let us assume that we mean by Americanism those best American ideals and standards which the best Americans have created, which we would have adopted by all Americans, whether native or foreign-born. There is little excuse if the native fails to meet these ideals and considerable reason for leniency in the case of the immigrant.

THE STREAM OF IMMIGRATION

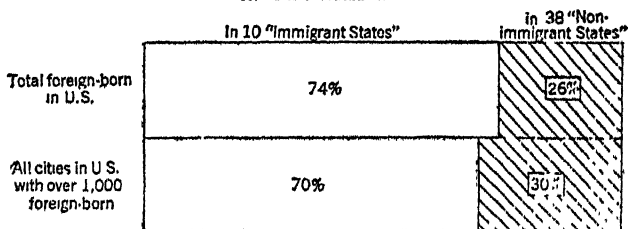
The problem of Americanization for the foreign born arises from the situation created by immigration, early and recent. Of the vast material of written records, reports, statistics, recommendations, and discussions on the subject of immigration, not a great deal relates to the field of this volume. Some of the facts, figures, and situations are pertinent and may be introduced at this point. We have noted¹ that in

¹ Chap. i.

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1910 there were reported in the census returns 3,000,000 foreign-born white persons ten years of age and over who were unable to speak English, and this number represented 23 per cent of all the foreign-born persons ten years of age and over in the United States. These immigrants are found largely in the northeastern section of our country, north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi (Diagram 1). More

DIAGRAM 1.—CONCENTRATION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION
IN TEN STATES



than two-thirds of them are found in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Jersey, Texas, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Each of these states has over 100,000 non-English-speaking foreign-born inhabitants, from Michigan with 102,000 to New York with 597,000.¹ Commenting on these figures, F. E. Farrington² asserts that where there are massed groups of foreign born there is a disinclination to learn English; he notes that the states above named contain 67.6 per cent

¹ *Thirteenth Census of the U. S.*, vol. i, pp. 1269, 1277, tables 6, 18.

² United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18 (1910).

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

of the total foreign-born population of the country, and 73.6 per cent of all those who are reported as unable to speak English. This deduction, however, seems unwarranted in view of the fact that in states where the proportion of immigrants to natives is low, the number of persons reported as unable to speak English is relatively greater than in those in which the proportion of immigrants to natives is high. In Kansas and in Oklahoma, where the ratio of foreign born to total white population is low, the proportion unable to speak English is higher than in such states as Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, and others in which the proportionate numbers of the foreign born are greater. In explanation of this situation it must be pointed out that the mode of settlement in the former states is largely agricultural and rural, while in the latter it is an industrial and urban life into which the immigrant is drawn. About 72 per cent of all immigrants reported in the census of 1910 were living in communities of 2,500 or over. Immigrants living in cities learn to speak English more quickly than those who settle in the country. This may be due to better educational facilities in the cities, as well as to more association between older and newer immigrants, in social organizations and industrial establishments.

Since 1891 the number of immigrants coming from non-English-speaking countries has increased markedly. From 1891 to 1900, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe con-

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stituted 52.8 per cent of the total number coming to this country. From 1901 to 1910, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe constituted 71.7 per cent of the whole number. Between 1890 and 1910 the number of immigrants unable to speak English increased by 1,581,967, or 115 per cent, as opposed to 47 per cent, the rate of increase of the total foreign-born population ten years of age and over.

The great problem of the non-English-speaking immigrant is comparatively recent, and complicated by several factors: first, the increase of all immigration; second, the preponderance of immigrants from non-English-speaking nations; and, third, the fact that our newer immigrants have come from countries having a high degree of illiteracy. The recent amendment to the immigration law (May, 1917) denies admission to illiterates; but before this measure was enacted there had been added to our population a large number of persons who came with the double disability of illiteracy in any language and non-English speech.

The most profound difficulty of all lies in the relatively high ages of the immigrants who come to us. It is obvious that if all immigrants came young enough there would be no problem of a common language, since the compulsory-school laws would guarantee both literacy and ability to speak English. But our immigrants are to a large extent past the compulsory-school-attendance age when they arrive. Of the 2,953,011 non-English-speaking immigrants re-

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ported in the census of 1910, 2,565,612 were twenty-one years of age and over, well beyond the compulsory-school-attendance age. Adults may attend evening schools, it is admitted, provided there are such facilities and the immigrant chooses to attend. We have seen how small is the number of adults attending any school.

What are some of the facts regarding maturity of immigrants and ability to speak English? The twenty-year-old immigrant shows the highest percentage of inability—*i.e.*, 40 per cent. One in three between the ages of fifteen and twenty is unable to speak English; for the age group between twenty-one and twenty-four, the same proportion is found; for the age group between twenty-five and forty-four, the figure is one in four. The poorest showings are shown in the West South Central, the Mountain, the South Atlantic, and the East North Central divisions as designated by the United States census. Of the states having a foreign-born population of 250,000 or more, the states that make the best showing are Minnesota, Iowa, Massachusetts, and California. Among large cities, Boston ranks first, reporting inability to speak English for only 17 per cent of her foreign-born population of the age group between fifteen and twenty years of age, for 16 per cent of those between twenty-one and twenty-four years of age, and for 11 per cent of those between twenty-five and forty-four years of age.¹ The census

¹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, vol. i, pp. 438, 1275.

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of 1910 reveals the significant fact that English is the mother tongue of but 31 per cent of the foreign-born white stock in this country, whereas German is the mother tongue of 27 per cent. From 4 to 7 per cent of our foreign-born white stock are assigned to each of the following language groups: Italian, Polish, Yiddish, Swedish, and French.

ADULT ATTENDANCE NEGLIGIBLE

What are some of the facts concerning the number of immigrants past the compulsory school age who are attending school? The poor showing for adult immigrants has already been noted. There is considerable variation in practices of control in various sections of the country. Few states have, as has Massachusetts,¹ compulsory evening schools for all minor illiterates. The poorest percentages of attendance for immigrants of the age group from fifteen to twenty years, and for those over twenty-one, are found in the South Atlantic, East North Central, and West South Central, and Pacific divisions. The best showings by states are those of Minnesota, California, New York, Michigan, and Massachusetts. For cities the ranking is in the following order: Boston, New York, San Francisco, Buffalo, Newark. Boston—which holds the same priority as regards school attendance for all three elements of her population, foreign born, native born of foreign parentage, and native born of native parentage—is notable, among all cities

¹ See chap. ix, p. 302

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having a foreign-born population of 100,000 or more, for its school-attendance figures for these age groups. Yet although more than half the foreign born in that city are between the ages of twenty and forty-four, *only 6 per cent of those are in school. Of foreign-born children between fifteen and twenty years of age, only 19.1 per cent are in school, as compared with 31.3 per cent of native-born children of foreign-born or mixed parentage, and 41.7 per cent of native-born children of native parentage.*

The combined factors—namely, failure to attend school, illiteracy in any language, and non-English speech, result in a condition which we cannot view without concern. Our more recent immigrants have a more difficult road to travel to reach citizenship than those who came earlier with fewer handicaps. Assuming that the later immigrants are just as willing and possessed of as much inherent capacity as the earlier groups, it is obvious that it is necessary to do more through organized forces for those who come with greater disadvantages.

The literacy provision in the new immigration law is designed to meet one of the problems noted above—namely, illiteracy in any language. Should this law be strictly applied, a large number of immigrants from nations in which there is a high degree of illiteracy would be denied entrance. This would shut out probably a third of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, whence the great mass in recent years has come. The provisions of the new

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immigration law which make exceptions for immigrants fleeing from religious and political persecution modify somewhat the operation of the law. During the fiscal year 1917-18, 88,421 aliens were admitted; the number debarred on account of illiteracy was 1,263, or 1.4 per cent of the total number admitted—a considerable reduction in the proportionate number of illiterates seeking admission into this country.

To summarize: The census of 1910 reveals that we have in our country people of practically every racial origin, the bulk of them now coming from countries with the lowest of educational standards. There has been an increase, in the last decennial period, of 53 per cent in the number of immigrants from southeastern Europe, with the resulting increase, in every part of the country, of a population unable to speak English. In 1910, one immigrant in eight was unable to write in any language, and one in four was unable to speak English. Few immigrants over the compulsory-attendance age are found in any school. We have depended, and are depending, upon casual and automatic forces for the assimilation of the foreign born. Have we not sufficient reason to urge a constructive and definite program to accomplish deliberately and certainly that which is now left to chance, and which consequently is often not accomplished at all?

PROVISION INADEQUATE

The extent of the problem and the need for Americanization have been indicated above.

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It is now fitting that there should follow some discussion of what the school and other agencies have done, are doing, and should do, to improve the conditions demanding attention. As has been stated, the problem of the immigrant from southeastern Europe is comparatively recent, and has become acute only since 1890. Public interest in the matter is still more recent, and adequate corrective measures are yet to be adopted. The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1916 contains, in an excellent chapter written by H. H. Wheaton, an account which is sufficiently clear and comprehensive to justify an extended quotation:

In 1914, when the Bureau of Education began a national investigation of facilities for the education of aliens, chaos existed in this important phase of education. Few established and well-approved standards existed, and practically all methods were in the experimental stage. Policies, except that of Federal noninterference, were known only to cities and states where evening schools for immigrants had long been maintained. Public agencies of various kinds were endeavoring to treat the problem each in its own way, without definite endeavor to co-operate with other agencies, and with no fixed policies. Immigrant education was considered at this time primarily a matter for local attention and jurisdiction. The spectacle of cities working out methods independently, and adopting fads in immigrant education without the co-ordinating influence of even a clearing-house of information, was so common as hardly to excite comment. State supervision, and especially state aid, had not at this time been seriously considered. Only one state New Jersey, had specified financial aid for the encouragement of immigrant classes. Only one other state, Massachusetts, had legislative provisions requiring the school attendance of illiterates up to twenty-one years of age

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Federal interest was considered in some quarters both inopportune and improper. Establishment and maintenance of educational facilities had, by established precedent and constitutional and legislative provisions, been left primarily to state governments and municipal and district school jurisdictions. The same policy was applied to the education of immigrants. Such Federal interest as existed derived its impetus largely from the national attempt to remove illiteracy, since the foreign-born whites contributed in large numbers to the body of illiterates. The establishment of fundamental principles and policies in the education of immigrants was, so far as the Federal government was concerned, agitated chiefly by reformers and social workers who came into more direct contact with the problem than government officials.

In contrast to state and Federal agencies, numerous private agencies and organizations—city, state, and national, civic, patriotic, and educational—were exploiting the field of immigrant education extensively. Frequently this was due to ulterior motives, among which may be cited the desire to secure financial support. Owing to the general, and in some cases unintelligent, public interest in the immigrant, appealing instances of this condition were described for the purpose of securing contributions. Again, the creation and maintenance of English and civic classes were utilized as a means of building up the schools of private agencies, many of which, if investigated, would not have received full public sanction. The efforts of some private agencies, furthermore, were well-meaning, but directed through the wrong channels. Types of educational facilities and instruction were provided, wholly unsuited to the immigrant type, need, and condition, with the result that immigrant men and women were induced to attend classes of no practical value either to them in their life in America or to the country as an Americanizing influence. While the activities of the various private agencies so far mentioned were excusable, their general intentions being good, the exploitation of immigrants by political organizations and fellow countrymen who maintained classes of instruction either for the purpose of securing excessive fees or for the purpose of making

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partisans politically of the immigrants who were being trained, was peculiarly harmful and a common occurrence. In several states, particularly California, through the investigation of the Commission of Immigration and Housing, instances were found where immigrants paid from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars for a two weeks' course in English and civil government that they might be equipped to pass their naturalization examinations. So-called political clubs were formed in many localities by foreign-born citizens, who were hirelings of petty political leaders and who, under the guise of giving civic training, promoted the interests of such politicians or of some political party.¹

This description of the situation may well serve as a starting point. As indicated in Chapter I, the World War caused us to give consideration to the neglected problem of Americanization among other questions of pressing national import. Since 1914 interest with regard to Americanization has been marked; the war and its various issues have aroused us from our previous state of lethargy. We are formulating programs, bringing about co-ordination of effort, and setting up principles of procedure which have good promise of becoming effective if we can secure appropriate legislation and sufficient funds. The war has ended and our fears have been somewhat assuaged. It remains to be seen whether the new sense of security will permit a recurrence of the former indifference which made us neglect our obvious obligations toward the immigrant.

In spite of the fact that our present situation is an improvement over that of 1914, our present

¹ *Report of Commissioner of Education, 1916.*

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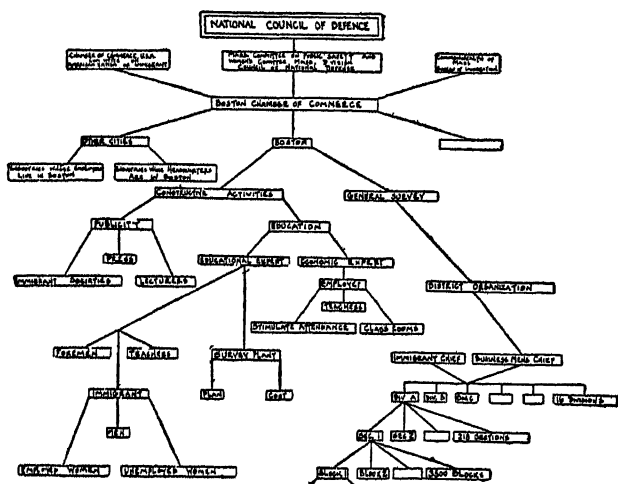
union of feeble public agencies and heterogeneous private enterprises constitutes the most potent argument for the fundamental plans that we are urging upon the states and upon the nation. The forces we now possess are operating more intelligently, but they are sadly inadequate to cope with the problem. And in spite of the strenuous attempt to simplify procedure, our present machinery is still essentially complex. The community endeavoring to do something immediately about a program of Americanization and wishing to act intelligently and efficiently, using appropriately the separate existing forces, discovers a situation disconcertingly confusing.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce, in attempting to meet the problem of Americanization in that city, formulated in August, 1918, an organization chart for proposed action, as shown in Diagram 2. It is interesting to note that this body felt obliged to adopt a procedure based upon the functioning of special war agencies, agencies essentially of emergency character which passed with the conclusion of the war. The Boston chamber's program was apparently obliged to assume that business and industry should bear the expense of education and should exercise supervisory control. There were no adequate public agencies commissioned to undertake the work contemplated by the chamber. The part that the school system should play, the basic principle that some Federal or state department should be in control and should

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take the burden of leadership, supervision, and direction, is hardly indicated in this plan.

DIAGRAM 2.—ORGANIZATION PLAN FOR AMERICANIZATION WORK
OF THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE



"It is the purpose of the Boston Chamber of Commerce to harmonize rather than control the assimilation work in Boston. It will not be the duty of the chamber's committee to assign work to organizations, but to study the work they are doing, and to fit into the general scheme the work that will be done by new agencies. Once the chamber's organization has been completed and its 4,000 to 5,000 workers placed in the field, it will be in a position to study the needs of each separate community. Where it is found that work can be done by an organization already in existence, this organization will be asked to do the task; if it is unable to do it, another organization will be enlisted."—*Report of Boston Chamber of Commerce, 1918.*

The accompanying chart illustrates the national situation corresponding to that revealed

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locally by the diagram of the Boston Chamber of Commerce. (See chart facing page 40.)

NEED FOR CO-ORDINATION

In addition to national, state, and community agencies promoting Americanization there exist a large number of semipublic and private agencies, a partial list of which is as follows:

United States Chamber of Commerce	Local chambers of commerce and boards of trade
Inter-Racial Council	Local women's clubs (<i>e.g.</i> , Women's Municipal League of Boston)
Young Men's Christian Association	Local Americanization committees
Young Women's Christian Association	Immigrants' Protective League (Chicago)
Young Men's Hebrew Association	Settlement houses in all large cities
Young Women's Hebrew Association	Labor unions
National Catholic War Council	Industrial plants
Knights of Columbus	Employers' associations
National Education Association	Churches and missions (Protestant institutional activities, parochial schools)
National Security League	Private commercial schools
Carnegie Corporation	Racial organizations
National Civic Federation	Foreign-language newspapers
Women's Christian Temperance Union	"America First" clubs
Daughters of the American Revolution	Good citizenship clubs
Council of Jewish Women	
American Bankers' Association	

It may be noted that few of the many agencies interested in the schooling of the immigrant have a comprehensive plan based on a funda-

PUBLIC AGENCIES PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

AGENCY	GOVERNMENTAL STATUS	RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS AND MODE OF SELECTION	SUPPORT	FUNCTIONS EDUCATIONAL AND OTHERWISE
United States Bureau of Education	Office of Department of the Interior	Commissioner and staff of experts	Funds appropriated by Congress	Collects and publishes information; advisory, not controlling functions
Division of Americanization, U. S. Bureau of Education	Office in Bureau of Education and Department of the Interior	Director appointed by Secretary of the Interior	Partly public, partly private funds	Represents both Commissioner of Education and Secretary of the Interior in educational programs
United States Bureau of Immigration	Office of Department of Labor of the Federal government.	Commissioner and staff appointed by Secretary of Labor	Funds appropriated by Congress	Enforces laws regulating entry of immigrants into U. S., protects from fraud or loss; collects information about delinquent and dependent immigrants; makes available information on employment opportunities; undertakes to distribute immigrants to fields where their services are in demand
Council of National Defense	Cabinet officers designated by act of Congress	Prominent persons asked to serve on committees without compensation, and paid executives	Funds appropriated by Congress	Co-operates with state councils of defense in proposing plans
United States Bureau of Naturalization	Office of Department of Labor	Officials appointed by Secretary of Labor	Funds appropriated by Congress; fees	Sends names of immigrant children to school superintendents, and names and addresses of aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens; gives educational advice; furnishes textbooks

State boards of education	Appointed by Governor or elected; duties usually prescribed by statute or state constitution	Superintendent of public instruction, elected or appointed by board	State funds	In some states advisory, in others administrative: usually plan and supervise vocational education courses; in many states disburse funds; usually supervise training and certification of teachers; frequently make special studies, publish reports
State immigration commissions or bureaus	Established and duties defined by statute	Commissioners or board, usually appointed by Governor; sometimes with paid executives appointed by Governor or board	State funds	Both advisory and administrative. Investigate and report on conditions among immigrants; protect immigrants from imposition or loss of wages; promote educational activities for immigrants (<i>e.g.</i> , instruction in home-making)
County superintendents or boards of education	Usually established by state constitution; details of organization and duties statutory	Superintendent and board, elective or appointive	County and state funds	Supervise country schools; conduct teachers' institutes; grant teachers' certificates
Town or city schools	Established under city charter or state law	Superintendent and board, elective or appointive	Local funds supplemented often by state funds; Federal grants for vocational education	Provide day and evening school vocational instruction in both full- and part-time classes, special classes for preparing aliens for naturalization examinations
State councils of defense	Established under legislative acts of the several states	Usually appointed by state Governors	State funds; some Federal support	All emergency matters occasioned by the war, including Americanization work

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mental grasp of the problem. The prospectuses of these organizations show little appreciation of the real character of the situation. Business men are asked to help because Americanization will help business; industry must aid because the stability of labor conditions is threatened; patriotic societies must come to the rescue because patriotic societies are the guardians of liberty. Few of the numerous agencies appear to recognize the fact that the education of the immigrant is the business of the nation, and that the nation must assume its own obligation. Most of the interested organizations are open to the criticism that they are tinkering with the problem, urging palliatives, meeting merely a current need. The problem of the immigrant has been long with us and promises to continue indefinitely. We ought to have adopted fundamental plans long ago; we must not longer delay.

More specifically, what are some of the things that are urged by the present agencies as helpful in the problem of Americanization? In general, we find that communities are counseled to appropriate more money and to open evening schools; business men and manufacturers are asked to institute classes, pay bonuses, give time from work and offer promotion to employees attending school. Social settlements are urged to conduct classes; women's clubs are shown where they can help by organizing small classes of women in the homes. We may note that of the two national public bureaus, each considers that the education of the immigrant is under its particular

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jurisdiction. Each proceeds in accordance with this theory, to the confusion of mind and purpose of communities seeking direction and help. Neither one is in a position to offer the assistance needed.

The importance of the problem of Americanization is amply attested in the expression of interest as well as the assumption of leadership by so many different agencies. In the absence of any one established, competent, and recognized authority, the attempts of all forces to proceed, each in its own way, are entirely understandable and even commendable. Some co-ordinating force has been needed for a long time; it was needed long before the war frightened us into agitation over the subject. To attempt longer to meet a large and complex problem by the present methods is patently impossible. To continue our present clamor without a fundamental plan may be likened to the procedure of engaging in a world war with local police forces and state militias. As a nation we have recently shown capacity for effective effort at a critical time. We abandoned all war precedents in the manner in which we raised our national army and mobilized our navy, built ships, controlled industrial and economic forces. We need to do something similar on a smaller scale with respect to the Americanization of the immigrant.

EFFORTS OF THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

It would not be just to claim that all of the forces enumerated in the foregoing chart have

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failed to see the necessity of a fundamental plan. The Bureau of Education has urged the adoption of a fundamental plan, as did the Committee of One Hundred. It is disappointing, however, that all the agencies interested in the problem of Americanization do not unite on some one plan. The combination of so many influential bodies for one purpose should surely assure success.

As opposed to the present confusion of counsel confronting communities seeking proper modes of procedure, may we not offer here a direct and comprehensible plan which suitable laws and sufficient funds would obviously guarantee? Fuller discussion may be reserved for a succeeding chapter. The general scheme of organization would be as follows:

1. A national department or bureau of education with a commissioner or director of immigrant education, with organization and support possibly like that provided by the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education and methods of instruction standardized through co-operation with state educational authorities and Federal power to withhold subsidy where work is unsatisfactory.

2. State boards or educational commissions, with commissioners or directors of immigrant education exercising general supervision, enforcing the standards required by the national bureau or director of immigrant education, promoting the special training of teachers for immigrants in the state normal schools, supervising the certification of such teachers, and having general oversight of the enforcement of state laws requiring the education of illiterate minors or the part-time instruction of non-English-speaking adults.

3. City or town school boards, with directors of immigrant

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education, appointed by and working under the direction of local school boards or committees and superintendents of schools, organizing and supervising special classes for immigrant children in day schools, part-time day schools for adults, evening and factory classes for adults, home instruction for women, special classes preparing for naturalization, and community centers.

4. Semipublic and private institutions co-operating with commissioned public authorities, and maintaining standards as high as those in public institutions.

We may now proceed to consider some of the undertakings and enterprises possible in the present situation where there is no fundamental plan. As indicated by the chart, there are national, state, community, and private agency programs. As is to be expected, the Bureau of Education has devoted great attention to the problem of Americanization and was perhaps foremost in arousing concern over the obvious failure to meet the situation. The reports, statistics, and findings of the bureau constitute at the present moment the best evidence obtainable upon the subject. The bureau has no adequate funds, possesses no authority other than influence, and is commissioned with no supervisory functions in relation to education in states and communities. The bureau has, however, strongly and helpfully influenced the practice of states and communities in attempting work in Americanization. It has sent out intelligent advice to all who come in contact with the immigrant—the school official, the legislator, the employer, and the organizations of varied character. It has issued numerous bulletins

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showing the nature of the problem, explaining matters of practical procedure, such as courses of study, educational material, and record forms. Detailed model lessons have been formulated and counsel given as to the preparation and selection of teachers for immigrants. Perhaps the best service rendered by the bureau has been the reports showing the extent of the problem of Americanization and the light efforts made by the whole group of agencies to effect a fundamental solution. Because of the limitations pointed out, the bureau exhibits a painful inadequacy of program when dealing concretely with procedure. To illustrate, we now quote from an official circular (September, 1918) to state superintendents of schools:

The Council of National Defense, on behalf of the United States Bureau of Education, has requested state and local councils of defense, acting jointly with corresponding divisions of the Women's Committee, to create committees on Americanization to carry out a broad war emergency program of which an important part is the teaching of English. This joint Americanization committee in each state has also been designated by the Bureau of Education and the Council of National Defense as the central co-ordinating agency for all war emergency Americanization work in the state.

The futility of the recommended procedure must be apparent; the plan proposed was not intelligible, so that effective results under it could not be expected. What a contrast to our procedure as a nation in undertaking the war program, where with authority and funds we

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brought under government control a whole array of material things, such as food, fuel, shelter, transportation! Why should we hesitate to bring order out of chaos with respect to Americanization, which affects the spirit and understanding of the nation?

PROVINCE OF THE BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION

The Bureau of Naturalization seems to claim jurisdiction over the education of the immigrant. The general powers given to this bureau¹ apparently justify the claim. However inappropriate it may seem to intrust matters affecting the education of the immigrant to any agency other than an educational one, we may not blame an organization for attempting to exercise a power seemingly imposed upon it by legal enactment. The Bureau of Naturalization proceeds very much like the Bureau of Education. It has dealt particularly with communities, through superintendents of schools. The bureau co-operates with local school officials by sending to the latter the names and addresses of immigrant children coming under the compulsory-education laws; it reports the names of declarants and petitioners for citizenship, so that they may be organized into evening classes for training for naturalization; and recently (1918) it has issued educational material (textbooks) offered free for use in such classes. This bureau

¹ *The Work of the Public Schools with the Bureau of Naturalization* (Government Printing Office, 1917).

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has been especially insistent with communities that evening schools be organized for the educational needs of immigrants.

The Bureau of Naturalization makes excessive claims¹ as to the number of communities co-operating in its educational program. There is good ground for doubt that this bureau is making the educational achievement which it claims. The writer believes that most school administrators are more confused than aided by the sudden entrance of a noneducational agency into the field of educational enterprise. That the bureau should urge the establishment of institutions for the instruction of immigrants seems wholly fitting; that it should assume a sort of educational jurisdiction over the conduct and character of educational institutions is wholly inappropriate. Schoolmen are accustomed to deal with the Bureau of Education, but in educational policies have never before been asked to deal with an agency extraneous to educational administration and organization. As between the two sets of educational instructions coming from the Federal government, the natural tendency of school administrators is to deal with the educational bureau in matters pertaining to the education of the immigrant as they do with respect to other educational problems.

Of the private agencies classed as national societies there are a number which co-operate closely with the Bureau of Education. The

¹ See chap. x.

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National Security League, the Committee on Education of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Education Association are prominent in this relation. Each of these associations has conducted campaigns for Americanization, and has made widespread appeals to its constituents to do what may be possible in furthering efforts to educate the immigrant. Since the ending of the war the National Security League has turned its attention to Americanization as the foremost work to be done in securing the safety and welfare of the nation, and is now conducting campaigns for state and community action, by holding meetings, by publicity, and by circular appeal.

A great deal of the present interest, especially on the part of business men, manufacturers, and employers of labor in general, may be due to these national societies. A large part of the current state legislation and municipal activities (1918-19) designed to promote the welfare of the immigrant is also directly traceable to them. The substantial result of the widespread interest and agitation of semipublic and private agencies with respect to Americanization has been the education of the public to the need of a program. Public action can take place only as the result of public recognition of the need.

GROWTH OF STATE BUREAUS

1915, and even earlier in some states, state programs of Americanization were begun. Mas-

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sachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, California, and New Jersey are pioneers in the movement to make special provisions for their immigrant inhabitants. At the present moment nearly all states with large foreign-born populations are stirring and making effort toward a betterment of conditions affecting the immigrant. State councils of defense in such situations have maintained divisions dealing with questions pertaining to immigrant education, and they have done this as the result of instructions emanating from the National Council of Defense. It is impossible to predict how much of a legacy of action the passing councils of defense will give to permanent state forces. In general we find that certain activities undertaken during the war have so proved their worth that they have been retained into the after-war period; numerous states have transferred Americanization enterprises from special war agencies to permanent state bureaus.

In Massachusetts serious and comparatively early attention to the problem of the immigrant is indicated by the appointment in 1913 of a special commission to report to the legislature in the following year. The resulting report of this commission presented a comprehensive and constructive series of recommendations concerning many phases of the welfare of the immigrant. This report particularly emphasized the importance of immigrant education, and counseled among other things the granting of state moneys to communities carrying on the work. Few of

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the recommendations of the commission have been enacted into law, but great stimulation has been the result. Massachusetts to-day may be said to have a state program for Americanization assigned to the state Board of Education and the state Bureau of Immigration. Before 1919 Massachusetts appropriated no money directly for the maintenance of classes for instruction, but the Commissioner of Education issued bulletins containing plans and suggestions similar to those of the Bureau of Education at Washington. By means of the Department of University Extension teacher-training classes are conducted, and some state supervision is given to factory classes, whether maintained wholly by the employers' funds or jointly by the employer and the public-school funds of local communities.

The state of New York presents a better example of a state program. This state appropriates money,¹ conducts teacher-training courses, exercises supervision, and enforces state laws affecting school attendance of illiterate minors. The action of New York is more recent than that of Massachusetts, and is more comprehensive.

California has won much favorable attention for the vigor and effectiveness of her state program. The California Commission on Immigration and Housing has a program that is social as well as educational. The education program,

¹ For every 180 days or more of teaching during the year, \$100 per teacher is allowed; a night is reckoned as half a day.

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while in certain respects defective, in others is clear cut and comparatively effective. California appropriates state moneys for the education of the immigrant, and exercises supervision and advisory control. The most prominent constructive feature of the California plan is the home-teacher project, by which communities maintain home teachers of immigrants, one teacher being allowed for every five hundred pupils of a school district. These teachers visit the homes of immigrants to give instruction in the English language; they are expected to render social service as well. Patriotic societies sometimes defray the expense of maintaining home teachers, as in Los Angeles. On the other hand, California has no compulsory-school-attendance law for illiterate minors, as have Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York.

Whatever is being done in other states is largely the result of the activities of state councils of defense (1918). These programs, undertaken as war measures, now show promise of being maintained for general welfare and are being turned over to permanent state bureaus for administration.

VARIATION IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

To attempt to describe in detail the programs of communities for the schooling of the immigrant is obviously inadvisable within the limits of this chapter. Community programs are char-

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acterized by differences in range and effectiveness; in general, our largest cities which have many immigrants have definite programs and are giving serious attention to the problem. Recent reports¹ of the United States Commissioner of Education show many communities which make little or very inadequate provision for immigrant education; even the communities showing the best returns are reaching but a small proportion of non-English-speaking immigrants.²

Yet our city school systems are less to be censured for failure to do more, than to be commended for what has been done under disadvantageous conditions. The failure of the law to compel attendance, even for illiterate minors in most states, the lack of funds for this special work, the absence of special provisions, such as suitable furniture, buildings, educational material, the established custom of obliging Americanization work to conform to ordinary evening-school routine, the conditions of employment for immigrant workmen which result in overtime work and shifts that make it impossible for them to attend regularly—all these conditions make city school programs seem somewhat abortive when viewed in the light of what would seem possible under favorable conditions.

A particular cause of failure has been inadequate funds. Few states grant subventions to

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, Department of Interior, 1916.

² See chap. iii.

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communities for evening-school work, so that moneys for evening schools are usually provided locally. It is fair to say that the school budgets of most communities are made up on the basis of the average day-school load—namely, elementary and high schools and kindergartens. Evening-school work is assigned to the margin of funds that may be available after regular needs are provided for; the appropriations for evening schools constitute but a minute part of the total school budget. Yet New York City was obliged to curtail evening-school provision for immigrants in 1917. Cleveland in 1919 was obliged to give notice of discontinuance of evening schools because of shortage of funds; later legislation relieved the situation somewhat.

But the public-school system has justified the widespread confidence reposed in it when given conditions fairly adequate. No system of schools can succeed under conditions so unfavorable as those now surrounding the education of the immigrant. All success is relative and many communities may be praised for what they have accomplished. More complete details of community achievements are given in Chapter III.

Community efforts have been described quite fully in the special reports of the Commissioner of Education, particularly in the writings of two special agents of the Bureau of Education, H. H. Wheaton and C. F. Farrington. Two large cities, among the many, may be mentioned as having attempted particular programs of

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Americanization within the past few years—Cleveland and Detroit. The efforts in Cleveland were stimulated by the criticisms and constructive suggestions of the Cleveland Education Survey. Americanization work in that city has been described in the volume entitled *The Immigrant and the School*, in the report of the Cleveland survey. This account, while mainly critical, presents a picture of what was actually happening in an enterprising large American city.

The example of Detroit deserves more than passing attention. The recent industrial expansion of this city and the consequent coming in of thousands of immigrants, most of them non-English-speaking,¹ made the problem of Americanization particularly pressing. Beginning in 1915, Detroit has made a vigorous effort to meet the situation in which it found itself with the English-speaking members of the community actually outnumbered by those of alien tongue. The co-operation of all influential forces of the community was one of the striking features of the movement; the Chamber of Commerce, the city government, the school department, and the churches of all denominations were found in active union for the common purpose of Americanizing all aliens. More adequate appropriations were secured, teachers were selected and trained, employers of labor urged their employees to join classes, the press con-

¹ The foreign-born population of this city increased by 300,000 in the interval between 1910 and 1915.

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ducted a publicity campaign. The resulting evening-school enrollment was considered a success, in view of an increase in membership over the preceding year of 153 per cent. While this gain seems large and satisfactory, it must be remembered that the best figures of enrollment represent but a small fraction of possible membership. Detroit might have gained a 1,000-per-cent increase in enrollment and yet not be reaching a half of the non-English-speaking immigrants. A similar situation obtains, of course, in all communities where non-English-speaking immigrants are to be found.

POLICY OF FACTORY CLASSES

Classes maintained in places of employment, usually called factory classes, deserve increasing attention in enumerating present agencies for Americanization. Broadly speaking, these classes are of two kinds—*i.e.*, classes maintained wholly by corporations, and classes maintained in co-operation with public agencies. This latter group may be subdivided according to the degree in which control rests with the public or with the private agency. The procedure of the Ford Manufacturing Company of Detroit is a good example of a corporation school in which immigrants are taught to speak English. The corporation bears the full expense of instruction in this school, chooses the teachers, conducts the courses, and controls all conditions affecting the work. Foremen of the plant are usually

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the teachers; the men come in their own time, and, while attendance is not exactly compulsory, the conditions are such that employees feel a compulsion. The Ford classes have emphasized the industrial efficiency aim, such objectives as "safety first" and ability to understand instructions, more than the citizenship ideal. The company employs an efficient director of Americanization work, and the results obtained compare very favorably with the achievements of similar classes, similarly conducted—namely, those purely under private control. As must invariably occur in classes of this character, too little attention is given to the competency and fitness of the teachers, who are drawn from industry, and too little attention is given to the ultimate aim of this instruction—namely, qualification for citizenship.

Co-operative classes with the public agency sharing with the corporation the burden of education are becoming more numerous and promise soon to be the standard procedure. We may hail this tendency with satisfaction, both because the ultimate aim of citizenship will be held better in view, and again because it maintains the principle of public responsibility in education. For their own protection, employers ought not to invite the suspicion that the educational process may be diverted for the aims of capital as opposed to the welfare of labor. The public is solicitous about the freedom of the educational process as well as about the freedom of the press. We are concerned that all persons shall be

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given instruction without prejudice, even though unbiased information does not always result in correct action. The immigrant must know his rights from a disinterested source, and the public agency can make the best claim to disinterestedness.

Co-operative factory classes vary greatly, especially with regard to the conditions under which employees attend them. The present tendency is toward giving the whole or part of the time for attending from the regular working hours, to pay bonuses, to offer encouragement by promotion or otherwise. The usual division of the financial burden is to have the corporation furnishing heat, light, and room, and the community furnishing instruction, supervision, and educational material.

THE Y. M. C. A. AND Y. W. C. A.

In a consideration of the important agencies at present attempting programs of Americanization, the work of the Y. M. C. A. deserves a prominent place. This organization has made increasing efforts for the education of the immigrant during the past few years. For the year 1917 it reports having conducted 3,000 different classes, though the figures for enrollment and attendance are not published. During the war it was given a governmental commission to conduct English classes for non-English-speaking selectives, and a definite part of its program has been the instruction in English speech of the

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development battalions made up of non-English-speaking soldiers. In addition to conducting classes for immigrants in its regular institutions, it has made a specialty of sending teachers to labor and construction camps where there are foreign born who are unable to go to established evening schools. It has developed a special method of instruction (the Roberts method), possesses trained teachers available for the work, and has funds in relative sufficiency to carry on a considerable program. This organization comes nearest to the public agencies in extent of influence, in the possession of experienced, trained forces, and established organization. It is more and more following the policy of promoting factory classes to be conducted under public-school authority.

The Y. W. C. A. is conducting a similar program for immigrant women. This organization has been successful chiefly in reaching unmarried immigrant women and girls, and by combining social with educational endeavor is instrumental in benefiting large numbers of women not affected by other forces.

Women's clubs in many communities have been a factor in organized work in Americanization. They have helped where the efforts of other agencies have been more or less abortive—namely, with immigrant women at home. Neither the factory, the public evening school, the Y. M. C. A., nor any other agency, unless it be the home teacher, the settlement house, or the Y. W. C. A., has been able to meet the needs of

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the woman in the home. While it is true that the women's clubs have not reached any considerable proportion of these women, they have brought instruction to sufficient numbers to show the value of this endeavor. The Women's Municipal League of Boston conducted twenty classes for non-English-speaking foreign-born women in Boston in 1917, and the city of Boston has since taken over this work. These classes rarely ranged in membership over twenty, and sometimes contained but half a dozen pupils. The permanent contribution of the women's club program promises to be the organization of classes of women inaccessible to other agencies, which may be turned over to public forces and carried on either by means of afternoon sessions in public schools, or taught by the home teacher, as is now being done in California.

The foregoing recapitulation and brief description of agencies, public and private, engaged in Americanization work, point out some of the things being done for non-English-speaking immigrants who are over the compulsory school age.

A SMALL FRACTION REACHED

It must not be forgotten that while the forces engaged are many, a comparatively small number of immigrants are being reached. Detroit, after its tremendous endeavor to attract all adult non-English-speaking immigrants, had an enrollment in 1915 of 11,000, which was not

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much more than 5 per cent of the number who might have profited by attendance.¹ And yet the public agency, such as the evening school or the day school for immigrants, probably reaches more individuals than all other agencies combined. There are no means of proving such a statement absolutely, but it is a fair inference from available evidence. There are few authentic records of enrollments and attendance for private institutions; the reports published by private agencies studiously avoid commitment as to actual numbers of students, but investigation into the comparative numbers for private and public agencies in our large cities consistently shows, in the judgment of those qualified to make estimates, that the public evening schools have larger enrollment than those of all private agencies combined. May we repeat at this point that organized agencies, whether public or private, have had but a small part in the assimilation that has undeniably taken place; we are obliged to admit that the process of Americanization has been going on automatically rather than consciously.

We may admit, perhaps, that we have mistaken agitation for achievement in the matter of really getting at the mass of non-English-speaking foreign born in our population and gathering them into classes for instruction. From the undue amount of publicity about the term "Americanization," the ordinary citizen may be led to believe that few foreign born miss the influence.

¹ See p. 54.

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This is a mistake, of course. We have been focusing our attention always on the numerator of our fraction—the number of those who are reached by educational agencies—and seldom have reflected on the size of the denominator—*i.e.*, the number of those whom we ought to reach. As indicated in Chapter I, the proportion of non-English-speaking immigrants who learn to speak English to the extent of being enumerated in the census as English-speaking is about two to one. The proportion of those who are listed as English-speaking and naturalized is much smaller; the figures of the last census for our non-English-speaking national groups show from 70 to 90 per cent unnaturalized. Figures for naturalization cannot be taken as an index of ability to speak English, because change of citizenship is so often complicated by personal attitudes or political tendency. Very probably we may assume that the immigrant “intellectual” is as likely to reject naturalization as the poorly educated workingman. Apparently, then, we must assign to individual enterprise rather than to organized forces, public or private, the cause for the large number of non-English-speaking immigrants acquiring our tongue to the degree of being recorded in the census as English-speaking. We may presume that literate foreign born pick up a reading knowledge from the press and books, that both literate and illiterate foreign born pick up a speaking knowledge of our language from casual contact with English-speaking associates, in business or employment,

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in social and religious organizations. In the end we must admit that we are talking vaguely when we accept the figures of the census for the number of English-speaking foreign born. The census officials conduct no tests to determine whether the information given to the enumerator is accurate or not. Massachusetts defines literacy for minors by the requirement that candidates for working certificates must demonstrate ability to pass the sixth-grade elementary-school tests; but neither the nation nor any state can give assurance as to the exact significance of census statistics relating to literacy or ability to speak English.

EXTENT OF ILLITERACY IN ENGLISH

Something of a sensation was created by the recently published statement of the War Department¹ that 24.9 per cent of the men of the draft army examined by the department's agents did not know enough English to read a newspaper or to write letters home. It was stated that of 1,552,256 men examined, 386,196 were illiterate or unable to take the psychological test *alpha*. It is claimed that these figures not only discredit the conclusions of the 1910 census with regard to literacy in the United States, but cast a similar doubt upon the statistics regarding ability to speak English. Upon examination it

¹ *Hearing on Smith-Bankhead Bill before the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, February 15, 1919* (Government Printing Office, 1919).

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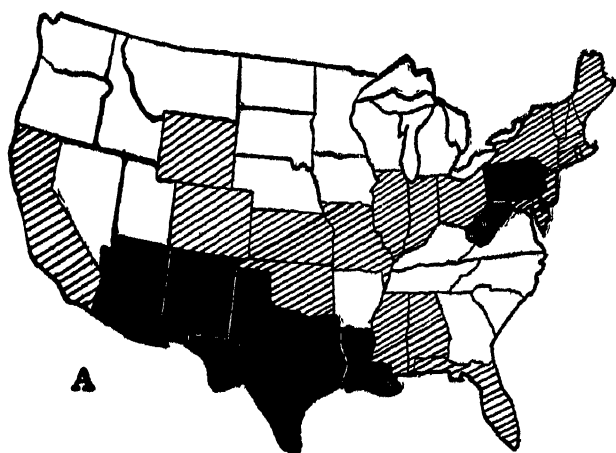
appears that the tests used by the War Department are as much open to criticism as the census methods, because of the lack of any uniform scale of measurement as a basis for the conclusions it presents. Table I of the War Department statement indicates for twenty-eight draft-army stations the basis on which a man was adjudged literate, the number of men examined, the number and percentage "sent to *beta*" (*i.e.*, the number considered unable to read English well enough to take the so-called *alpha* intelligence tests, which involved reading and writing of English), and the percentage of negroes in the respective groups. Perhaps the most striking feature of this table is its evidence on the lack of uniformity among the different stations as to the standard of literacy employed. For Camps Devens, Humphrey, and Lee no basis of testing for literacy is shown at all. The other camps vary from a third-grade standard at Wadsworth to seventh-grade in Wheeler and Grant, which in the latter meant ability "to read and write rapidly." In seven camps the standard was not defined in terms of school grades, but simply as "read and write," meaning ability to read newspapers and write letters home in English. In a number of cases the standard was changed during the period covered by the statistics, though the number of men examined on each of the respective bases is not stated. While the War Department's statements undoubtedly indicate an unsatisfactory general level of education in our population, the sup-

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porting figures are too uncertain to warrant the acceptance of many of the conclusions set forth by army officials.

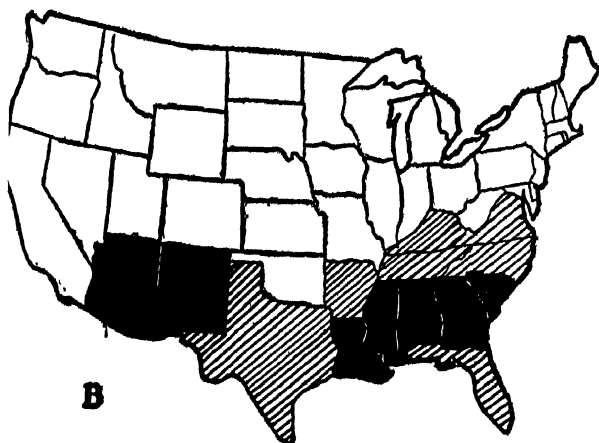
We must be on our guard against accepting the startling figures commonly given by propagandists for Americanization as to the present numbers of our non-English-speaking immigrants. In a number of instances it is claimed by national societies interested in Americanization that there are over 8,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants in this country. State agencies, such as state councils of defense, commonly publish figures which are one-quarter at least higher than the figures of the national census. There seems to be no reliable basis for these excessive estimates and no motive other than to arouse public attention to an unsatisfactory condition.

However, our schools must be concerned with not only the speaking but the reading and writing of English (Map 1). The Massachusetts census gives a basis for estimating the still greater magnitude of the latter as compared with the former task. The Massachusetts census goes farther in analysis than does the Federal census, and presents statistics of illiteracy in English from which it appears that 11.6 per cent of the population of that state ten years of age and over cannot read or write English, while 30.1 per cent of its foreign-born inhabitants ten years of age and over are unable to read or write English. In view of the fact that the United States and the Massachusetts census agree closely in their figures on



A

0-9% 10-19% 20% and over



B

MAP 1.—PER CENT OF ILLITERACY IN EACH STATE IN 1910 FOR

A FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

B TOTAL POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

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complete illiteracy, it can probably be assumed that the ratio in Massachusetts of illiteracy in English among the foreign born to total illiteracy among the foreign born would not be an overestimate as a ratio for the whole country. The Massachusetts census gives 10.9 per cent for total illiteracy and 30.1 per cent for illiteracy in English among the foreign born. The 1910 Federal census reports as illiterate 12.7 per cent of the foreign-born population of the United States. Assuming for the foreign-born population of the United States the same ratio of complete illiteracy to illiteracy in English as was found for that of Massachusetts ($10.9 : 30.1 :: 12.7 : x$), we get a percentage of illiteracy in English of 35.1 among all the foreign born in the country in 1910, or a total of 4,543,530, as against 2,953,011 unable to speak English. Illiteracy as reported for the negro (2,227,731) and native born (1,534,272) means practically the same as illiteracy in English. Combining these three figures to get the total number of persons illiterate in English, we have 8,305,533, which is 11.6 per cent of the population ten years of age and over.

LIMITATIONS OF EVENING SCHOOLS

After describing in outline what several of the more important agencies are attempting under present conditions, it may be profitable to consider some of the changes that may be expected in the future under assumed improved conditions.

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The schedule on page 43 suggests an improved condition of performance with legislation, authority, direction, supervision, and more adequate funds. Assuming that some or all of the recommended changes are brought about, what institutions and devices may be looked to for improved results? Shall we place our hope chiefly in the evening schools as agencies through which an increased and more satisfactory number of non-English-speaking immigrants may receive appropriate instruction and training for citizenship, or does some other instrument possess more promise?

It is not wholly safe to make predictions on this matter. Pragmatic tests with various devices, such as evening schools and other institutions, alone can determine which are of largest value. From growing experience it would seem that the present newest device—namely, the factory class—promises a better measure of usefulness. Our immigrants are workers and are found in largest numbers in cities and towns of considerable size, as employees in industrial plants. To educate the worker at the plant is like collecting revenue at the source. The evening school has restricting factors which promise to limit its achievements, even though the present disadvantageous conditions should be much improved. These factors are connected with the inherent difficulties which working adults always encounter when attempting to attend evening schools. There are the difficulties of distance to be traversed, of long hours of labor with

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periods of overtime work, of shift arrangements of labor which limit the worker to attending only in alternate weeks; there is the fact of fatigue which succeeds a full working-day, with the consequent incapacity for mental effort in the evening; for the laborer on heavy and dirty work there is the inconvenience of changing clothes; and there is the deprivation of social life which the worker must accept for the sake of regular and frequent attendance at evening schools. All cities have the same experience with evening schools, in that large enrollments soon shrink to small membership and smaller average attendance. The most favorable figures indicate a retention of membership in evening schools not usually over one-half; the average is less—about one-third.¹ The critics of evening schools usually assign this apparent failure to poor teaching, poor accommodations, unsympathetic atmosphere; and there is no little justice in this view. A discriminating judgment of the situation will find a more intrinsic cause in the fundamental social and employment conditions of the pupil's life.

The factory class plan can be operated with none of the disadvantages of the evening school and with practically all of its advantages. The factory class can be conducted at hours before fatigue has rendered the learner incapable of interest; furthermore, the factory class obliges no change of apparel, involves no traveling, does not exclude the worker from the recreations

¹ See chap. iii.

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

and associations of his leisure hours. It would be possible to point out many other advantages of larger import which the factory class could effect, such as the concrete demonstration to the worker that his place of employment is associated with something higher than solely the selling of labor and the production of goods; industry should feel the need of encouraging this latter impression. Where factory welfare work has resulted in a better attitude on the worker's part we have an instance of what we may expect from the extension of the practice. The thing we speak of as industrial unrest can no longer be ignored by employers or by anyone else. The worker will no longer be content to "live by bread alone." Citizenship is the common possession of employer and employee; the employer no longer hires hands, but employs hearts and souls. It is predicted that the worker will eventually have his share in the conduct of industry. The factory class is a fitting point of approach if the worker is to be a worthy and intelligent participator in the management of industry as well as a laborer on the product.

THE DAY SCHOOL FOR IMMIGRANTS

We may consider the possibilities of such an institution as has recently been developed in the city of Boston, known as the Day School for Immigrants. This school was instituted in 1916 and was originally designed to meet the

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needs of illiterate adult immigrants, the conditions of whose employment were such that they could not attend school in the evening. The original conception was in effect that of an evening school conducted in the daytime, which means practically a part-time school conducted like an evening school. Immigrants employed in hotels, restaurants, bootblackening establishments, fruit stores, etc., resort to this school. At the present time increasing possibilities of expansion and influence are being discovered. The school is now showing that it is an excellent training school for the visiting teacher who goes into the home to teach the mother who cannot go out to any school; it is a suitable institution with which to associate the factory-class teacher; it is a competent organization from which to draw the teacher who is sent to a regular day school where groups of mothers are gathered for instruction. These mothers often come with little children, who are accommodated in kindergartens with competent attendants.

These are some of the results now being obtained, but the possibilities of larger service are also clearly recognized. One of the most obvious advantages is the making of the day school for immigrants the parent organization for all public-school efforts toward Americanization. Educators have long recognized the shortcomings of the evening-school organization. Its teachers, principals, and materials of instruction are by necessity of makeshift character; communities cannot afford to maintain a distinct

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group of professionally trained teachers or principals for evening-school work, by reason of the short terms, limited number of evenings, and short sessions. Evening schools have produced results worth more than their cost, but these results must always be limited. The day school for immigrants can, however, by reason of the varied character of its work, maintain permanently a professionally trained body of workers, and by assigning these teachers part of the time to day classes, can apportion other periods of their time to evening-school service. These teachers cannot carry the whole evening-school teaching burden as our work is at present organized, but they can be assigned to important posts in the evening school and serve as a leaven for the betterment of present conditions.

It may be objected that the day school for immigrants can be maintained only in larger communities. The answer is that large day schools for immigrants may be maintained only in larger communities, and that small day schools for immigrants may be maintained in smaller communities; the cost per unit of instruction need not vary materially from the large to the small community. It must be remembered that effective public agencies for dealing with the improvement of present conditions presuppose two important conditions—namely, more adequate legislation and more adequate funds. Further discussion of methods of surpassing our present admittedly unsatisfactory achievements may well be discontinued unless we are

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prepared to face these issues. Whether we may expect the new laws to come from the nation or from the state and the additional funds from the communities, from the states, or from the nation, are matters for discussion elsewhere in this volume.

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN HANDICAPPED

This chapter has discussed the subject of Americanization chiefly as it relates to the adult immigrant, who is beyond the compulsory school age, and usually found either in industry, as is the great mass of the men, or in the homes, as is the case with the women, who form a smaller group. The term "Americanization" is commonly understood to apply to these groups; it is capable, however, of a wider and truer application. We have suggested that the influences and processes implied in Americanization apply to all inhabitants of our country, foreign-born and native alike. We are short-sighted, at least, in our present limitation of effort to adults alone; we should give concern to the children of the immigrant, and perhaps even to those beyond the first American-born generation.

As has been indicated in Chapter I, we now make no distinction, in our methods of education, our courses of study, or in our general procedure, between the children of immigrants and the children of native parents. It is not clear at the present time just how we ought to differentiate our customary procedure in regular

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schools for the sake of the children of the immigrant. Particular tact and judgment will be needed to work out a competent plan. A few isolated experiments are being attempted, particularly in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and in Cleveland.¹ It is to our credit that in our schools we have never made invidious comparisons with respect to the children of the immigrant; we have received them on a basis of equality and made them feel that there were no distinctions on account of accidents of birth and economic condition.

Any changes that may be made must maintain these undoubtedly sound principles. Still, we cannot ignore the arguments for some sort of special educational provision for immigrant children. The motive is similar to that which has prompted us to make special provision for various kinds of atypical children. We wish in the schools to furnish an equality of educational opportunity; but we can no longer deny the fact of individual variation of powers and abilities, and the schools cannot bestow an equality of benefit through the same ministrations to all children; children equipped with lesser gifts by nature must be given more by nurture.

If atypical children are to be prepared for participation in life satisfactory to themselves and advantageous to society they must have very special training in the schools; it is for this reason that our schools have developed many

¹ See *The School and the Immigrant*, Cleveland Education Survey, vol. xiii.

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differentiations of procedure, have set up varied special classes for atypical pupils of all kinds. We assume that the majority of immigrant children, while normal with respect to range of mental capacities, do differ in social and economic condition from the children of families settled here for generations. The immigrant child often has distinct handicaps in conditions which it is the purpose of Americanization to affect helpfully; he frequently suffers from the handicap of a foreign language in the household, and often from the inexperience of his parents in the American environment. The same philosophy which justifies variation of treatment for the mentally atypical would justify variation in the case of the socially atypical child. It would seem in general that we ought to do more for him than for others not so handicapped, but our reason at the present time for not proceeding according to the logic of the situation is simply that we do not know what things we should or could do for him. In the chapter following will be given an account of one suggestive plan now being successfully applied in a city largely foreign in population.

THE ARGUMENT FOR PUBLIC PROVISION

We may conclude this chapter by further emphasizing the principle that the program for Americanization is a public matter, to be carried out primarily by public agencies; when undertaken by any other it should be under the

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supervision of public agencies. Americanization means uniting in a national life and government originally conceived as worthy, and in advance of others under which the mass of mankind were living. Once looked upon as a great experiment in human government, our democracy has justified the faith of its founders. To-day the American experiment has become the world-fact. Men no longer doubt; everywhere they imitate. But a democracy is always in danger; it is the one form of government that does not run itself. We have neglected our democracy by our indifference about the Americanization of the immigrant; the evidence of this has been substantial and convincing. Those immigrants who have come to us and live among us without knowing what Americanism is must be instructed, and instructed by teachers responsible to the public; and others when they come must be taught without delay the principles of American democracy, that they may strengthen our fellowship rather than become a peril to our institutions. Let us assume this duty from a sense of justice and not from motives of fear. The just nation need not fear; but "conscience makes cowards of us all."

The former vague notion that most of our immigrants were of inferior stock has been dissipated. Where are now the inferior races, after the revelations of the World War? The "superior race" delusion has been smitten again by the sword of fate—"he hath brought down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted

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those of low degree.” The theory of democracy has always been opposed to the idea that races differ inherently in capacity for self-government. Americanization is nothing but democratization of men who feel alike but do not understand one another. The native and the foreign born are really one; Americanization is the process of mutual discovery of this fact.

III

PUBLIC-SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

WE shall need to revise our conception of the term "school" in view of the recent expansion of all sorts of educational forces, and the multiplication of all kinds of educational instruments. Democracy and the educational process go hand in hand; the one cannot expand without increase of the other. To some the word "school" may recall the little red schoolhouse and the period of childhood; to another the term brings a recollection of the substantial city structure and its teeming occupants. In any case the picture is incomplete if it shows only the child and the youth as the natural beneficiaries of the process of education. We have recently sent four million men to school to learn the art of war; we have had the school for the soldier and the school for the officer; we are re-educating our disabled soldiers. We have had schools to train our shipbuilders and schools to train the new workers in war industries. We have schools for our firemen, policemen, and teachers, and we have schools for diplomats and schools for journalists. Revising Shakespeare's adage that "all the world's a stage," we may say to-day that all

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the world is a school, and that our "seven ages" are spent as students in a school rather than as players in a drama.

The world of the immigrant has been neither a stage nor a school, but usually the ditch with its drudgery, or the factory with its grind. A more detailed account of present provisions for the schooling of the immigrant may follow at this point. The public evening school, discussed in the preceding chapter, is chief among all forms of provision. A letter of inquiry dated December, 1918, was sent by this Study to 2,404 school superintendents of places in the United States having a population of 2,500 or over, as listed in the 1917 directory of the United States Bureau of Education; the letter included a stamped postal carrying a question as to whether or not the given locality afforded special educational work for the foreign born; a second letter was sent on March 15, 1919, to 975 places still unheard from, inclosing a similar return card and urging reply in order that our statistics might be completed. Responses have now been received from 83 per cent of all these places. The detailed returns by states are given in Tables XXVI and XXVII found in the Appendix.

PRESENT FACILITIES INADEQUATE

These responses have brought out several striking facts. If an immigrant from a non-English-speaking country chooses to learn English in the public schools here, he must select with care

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the place of his residence in this country, for only one city in five has any public-schooling provision. It is evident from the statistics gathered that his chances of finding a school in any urban community increased 40 per cent from 1914-15 to 1918-19; but he also has an eight times better chance if he goes to a place having more than 1,000 foreign-born residents than if he goes to one having less than that number. If he will also pick out a place having a population of over 25,000, he will have about seven chances in ten of finding public-schooling provision; on the other hand, he has one chance in ten in a town of less than 10,000 population. The accompanying tables bring out these points.

Table I shows the number of places reporting public provision for the foreign born for the school year 1918-19, with the similar reports for 1914-15 recorded in Bulletin No. 18 of the Bureau of Education.

It is evident that there has been in general an increase in the number of places having facilities; the number has increased from 350 places in 1914-15 to 504 in 1918-19. But more important still is it that an increase should be found in the class of places which, roughly speaking, needs it most. Although it cannot be stated dogmatically, in general those places having over 1,000 foreign-born residents can be said to have more of a problem than those having less than 1,000 foreign born. Of this class of cities, 318, or 37 per cent, had some work in 1914-15, and 419, or 48 per cent, reported such

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work in 1918-19. The increase for these places has been greater than that in the country at large, but the provision may still be said to be only half of what is needed.

There were ten states in the country in 1910 whose foreign-born population exceeded 500,000. These states contained approximately three-

TABLE I

PLACES REPORTING PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR FOREIGN BORN
IN 1914-15 AND 1918-19 BY GROUPS OF STATES

Places ¹	IN ALL STATES		IN 10 "IMMI-GRANT" STATES ²		IN 38 "NON-IMMIGRANT" STATES ³	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	2,404	100	1,197	100	1,207	100
Reporting provision, 1914-15 ⁴	350	15	253	21	97	8
1918-19	504	21	330	28	174	14
Foreign-born popu- lation over 1,000.	868	100	606	100	262	100
Reporting provision, 1914-15	318	37	231	38	87	33
1918-19	419	48	287	47	132	50
Foreign-born popu- lation less than 1,000	1,536	100	591	100	945	100
Reporting provision, 1914-15	32	2	22	4	10	1
1918-19	85	6	43	7	42	4
Total foreign-born white population, 1910	13,394,213	100	9,845,387	74	3,548,826	26

¹ Places listed in Educational Directory, *Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18* (1917-18), Table 7. The list is made up chiefly of places with over 2,500 population in 1910, but includes 64 places having less than 2,500.

² New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, California, Wisconsin, having over 500,000 foreign born in 1910.

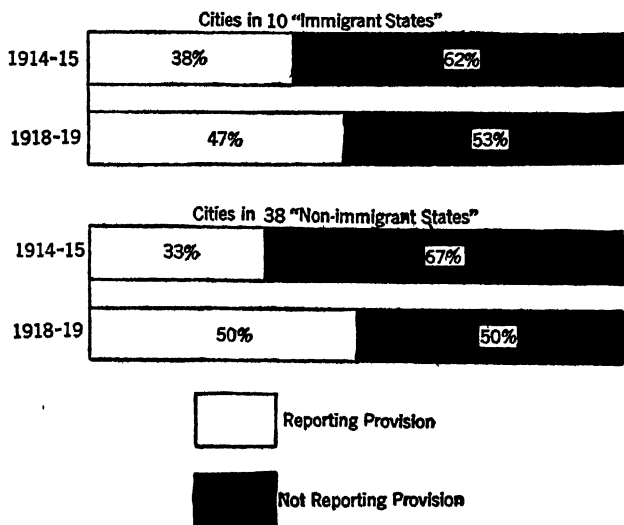
³ "Non-immigrant" designates states having less than 500,000 foreign-born population.

⁴ All 1914-15 figures based on reports listed in *Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18* (1916), Table 7.

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quarters of the total foreign-born population of the country and included 70 per cent of all the places having over 1,000 foreign born (see Diagram 1, p 28). Table I and Diagram 3

DIAGRAM 3.—INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CITIES WITH OVER 1,000
FOREIGN BORN REPORTING PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION
FOR FOREIGN BORN, 1914-15 TO 1918-19



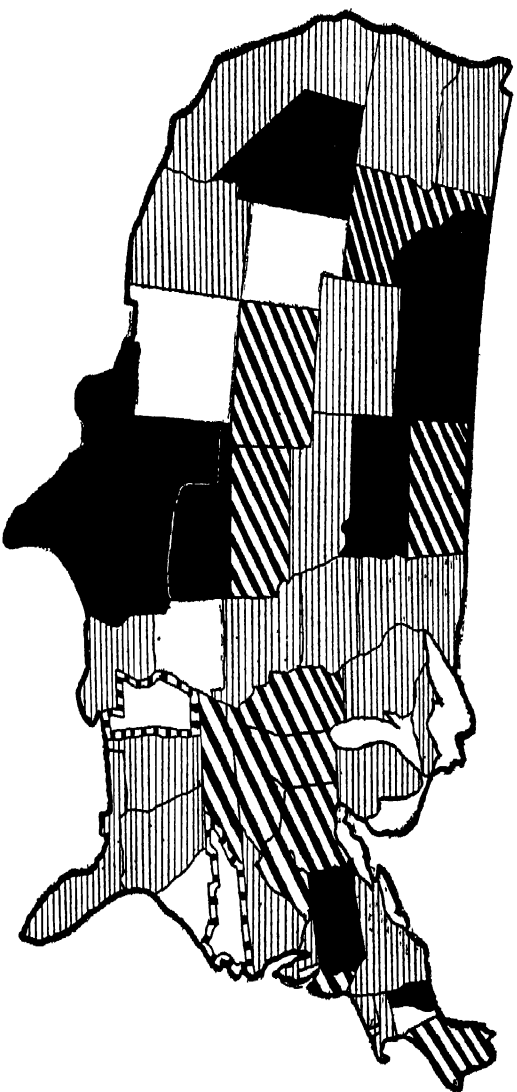
also show the number of places in these states having over 1,000 foreign born which report educational opportunities as compared with the number in the remaining states. By comparing the percentages of places reporting provision in the two groups of states it is evident that the increase from 33 to 50 per cent in the "non-immigrant" states exceeds that in the immigrant states, where the increase was from 38

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to 47 per cent. That is, the proportion of immigrant cities where new work has begun during the four-year period did not increase in the states having the greatest concentration of foreign-born population as much as in "non-immigrant" states. The "non-immigrant" states show a similarly greater rate of increase of provision in places having less than 1,000 foreign born. It is apparent then that at best the work has developed in only about 50 per cent of places having over 1,000 foreign born, and that the thirty-eight states having the smallest number of immigrants make the better showing in this respect. Need for increased effort is strikingly evident. The accompanying map (Map 2) shows for each state what percentage of places, out of all localities having over 1,000 foreign born, report work.

We have been discussing states and communities classified as to numbers of foreign born. In Table II and Diagram 4 all communities having a population of over 2,500, as listed in the 1917 directory of the United States Bureau of Education, are classified in five groups on the basis of their percentage of foreign-born population, together with their reports on immigrant education; in the table these five classes of cities are further subdivided into three groups according to total population.

The same striking inadequacy of provision is brought out by this table with respect to various classes of cities as is brought out in Table I in relation to cities with 1,000 or more



100-75% 75-50% 50-25% 25% and less No places with over 1,000 foreign-born.
 MAP 2.—PER CENT OF TOTAL PLACES WITH OVER 1,000 FOREIGN BORN REPORTING PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION IN EACH STATE IN 1918-19

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immigrants. In a comparison of cities classified by per cent of foreign-born population, the best showing is 53 per cent for the group having from 30 to 39 per cent foreign born—again only about half of the group.

TABLE II

PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR FOREIGN BORN REPORTED
IN 1918-19 BY CLASSES OF PLACES

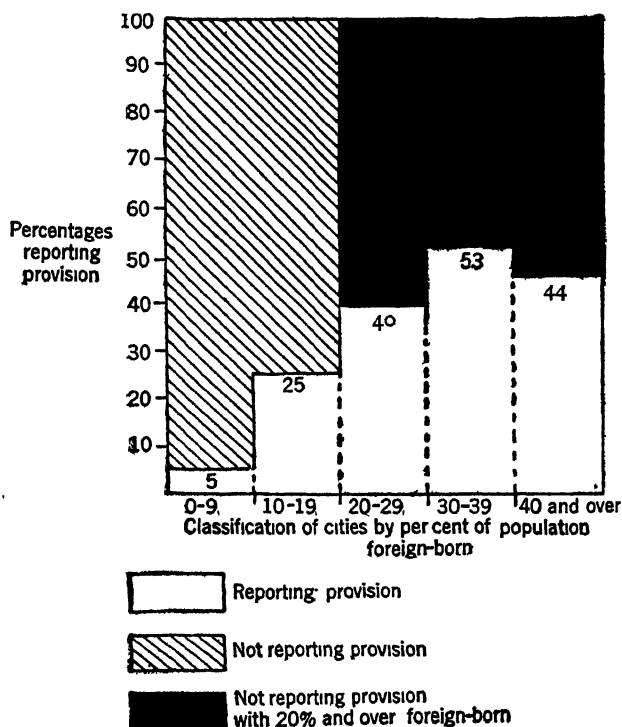
CLASS OF PLACE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PLACES ¹	PLACES REPORTING PROVISION	
		Number	Per Cent
Total number of places.....	2,404	504	21
Pop. less than 2,500.....	64	4	6
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	1,737	194	11
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	374	147	39
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	229	159	69
Foreign-born pop. 0-9 per cent ..	1,052	50	5
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	870	14	2
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	126	14	11
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	50	22	39
Foreign-born pop. 10-19 per cent ..	589	145	25
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	430	60	14
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	102	43	42
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	57	42	74
Foreign-born pop. 20-29 per cent ..	392	156	40
Pop. 2,500-10,000.....	257	59	23
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	83	54	65
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	52	43	83
Foreign-born pop. 30-39 per cent....	196	103	53
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	111	42	38
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	42	27	64
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	43	34	79
Foreign-born pop. 40 per cent and over.	95	42	44
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	58	18	31
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	17	7	41
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	20	17	85
Per cent of foreign-born pop. unknown.	80	8	10
Foreign-born pop. 20 per cent and over....	683	301	44
Pop. 2,500-10,000 ..	426	110	26
Pop. 10,000-25,000 ..	142	88	62
Pop. 25,000 and over ..	115	94	82

¹ Places classified according to census of 1910.

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It seems conservative to say that all places which have a population over 20 per cent foreign born need to have schools for immi-

DIAGRAM 4.—PERCENTAGES OF FIVE CLASSES OF CITIES REPORTING PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR FOREIGN BORN, 1918-19



grants. In 1910 the foreign born were 23 per cent of all our urban population, so that most cities with 20 per cent or more foreign born have a percentage higher than the average

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for the country; in a few cases this would include cities having only 500 foreign born. However, when the foreign born comprise 20 per cent of the population, they impose a responsibility not to be overlooked. There are 683 places with 20 per cent or more foreign born, of which 301 report schooling provision; that is, over four out of ten of these places have educational facilities for the adult immigrant. Again we find more than half the communities in the United States which most need provision neglecting to make it.

The group of cities which show the highest percentage of accomplishment, as has been stated, is that having from 30 to 39 foreign born, of which 53 per cent report work. That only 44 per cent of those having a foreign-born population of 40 per cent and over report immigrant schooling facilities is evidence of patent inadequacy of provision. That there should be any community in this country in which four out of ten inhabitants have come from another land and find no school doors open to them is sufficient food for thought and incentive for reform.

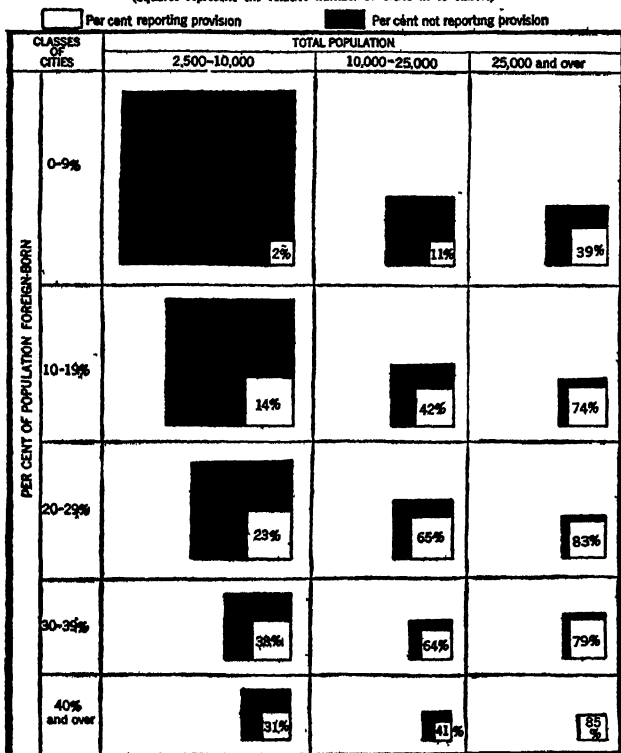
In so sweeping a condemnation of communities for their neglect of the immigrant, the question immediately arises as to whether the blame falls equally on places of various sizes. We have been considering communities in five groups according to their per cent of foreign-born population. These five groups may be further considered in three subdivisions according to size or total population. Table II and Diagram 5

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show what percentages of each of these fifteen classes of places report provision. It is fully to be expected that the places of over 25,000

**DIAGRAM 5.—PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR FOREIGN BORN
REPORTED IN 1918-19, BY 15 CLASSES OF CITIES**

(Squares represent the relative number of cities in 15 classes)



population will be best equipped to meet their problem, and reports indicate that they are; 85 per cent of those with over 40 per cent

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foreign born and 69 per cent of all of them have facilities. It would be highly desirable to find them showing a still higher percentage, at least in the groups having over 20 per cent foreign born, where only about four out of five places report provision. All of these have at least 5,000 foreign born. Even if a city of 25,000 had a foreign-born population of only 10 per cent, it would have 2,500 such residents and a sufficient cause for provision. When only about seven cities in every ten having a population from 10 to 19 per cent foreign born report work, the provision still falls well below the need. Similar comparisons for the three sizes of cities, in the five groupings according to percentage of foreign-born population, can be made from Table II and Diagram 5. The evidence points to the fact that the immigrant who lives in a city whose population is less than 10,000 has the smallest chance of finding classes in English in its schools, since only about one such place in ten reports work.

In Chapter IX, page 302, it is pointed out that Massachusetts has done more than any other state to compel communities with over 5,000 inhabitants to establish school work for the foreign born. Yet thirty-seven places with over 1,000 foreign born report "no provision," in response to the inquiry of this Study in 1918-19. In Massachusetts only three cities out of every five report compliance with the law. In New Hampshire, where there is no such law, we find eleven out of the thirteen places having over 1,000 foreign born

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reporting provision, putting New Hampshire high among the states which are meeting the educational need of their foreign-born residents.

At the other end of the scale stands Pennsylvania, reporting work in only one place out of four having over 1,000 foreign born. One Pennsylvania superintendent of schools writes, "We have a large foreign population, but no school for adults." Map 2 indicates that this situation is not an exception in this state, although lack of provision is by no means confined to Pennsylvania. A superintendent in Ohio writes, "Nothing doing along these lines," although his city has a population of approximately 79,000, of which 25,000 are foreign born. Too often a negative response was received from places where the census figures indicate a considerable concentration of foreign-born residents.

MODERATE FUNDS SUFFICIENT

In the preceding chapter the evening school has been questioned as an institution which in itself may be expected to meet adequately the problem of the schooling of the immigrant. In this connection, a number of facts favorable to the evening schools ought to be presented. It is entirely possible for communities to set up evening schools with present resources. An estimate of the cost is based upon the figures of actual expenditure in communities conducting evening schools. Our communities already possess buildings, equipment, and material for day-school use; to open these buildings in the evening

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for a number of persons who may be persuaded to come occasions but a moderate additional outlay. There can be no doubt that communities that must afford to conduct day schools can likewise afford to maintain evening schools. In the absence of suitable legislation and funds the evening school has been the only public provision possible, and in spite of its limitations the public evening school has been more far-reaching in its influence than all the private organized agencies combined.

The evening school has been sufficiently successful to warrant our making a better provision for the immigrant. The evening school likewise has given us experience by which to determine the appropriate methodology in the newer institutions which we now see to be necessary. The evening school may always remain for certain groups the most feasible means of obtaining educational advantages.

Advocates of the evening school are accustomed to assert that it has never had a fair chance; that, given more money for better teaching and equipment, far greater returns may be expected. This expectation is undoubtedly true, but more true yet may be the conclusion that the evening school as a thoroughgoing institution has limitations besides the factors of money and equipment; some have been enumerated in Chapter II.

FIVE CITIES START, THREE STOP

There is an astonishing and significant similarity between the unsolved problems of the evening

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school in communities comparatively indifferent about good evening schools and of those in communities spending great energy in these institutions. Communities fail in the first place to maintain their own interest or that of the foreign born sufficiently to continue the provision for immigrant education. The mortality rate of special provision for immigrants is astonishingly

TABLE III

PLACES REPORTING PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR FOREIGN
BORN IN 1914-15, 1917-18, AND 1918-19

PERIOD	REPORT	No
1918-19	Places reporting provision	504
	Places reporting "no provision" ..	1,486
	Places reporting provision in this period, but not for 1917-18	125
	Places reporting provision in 1917-18, but not for this period ..	54
	Places not responding	414
1917-18	Places reporting provision	433
	Places reporting "no provision"	1,509
	Places reporting provision in this period, but not for 1914-15	198
	Places reporting provision in 1914-15, but not for this period ..	71
	Places not responding	462
1914-15	Places reporting provision	350
	Places reporting continuance of provision in 1917-18	246
	Places reporting continuance of provision in 1918-19	258
	Places reporting discontinuance of provision by 1917-18	59
	Places reporting discontinuance of provision by 1918-19	60
	Places not responding on status for 1917-18	45
	Places not responding on status for 1918-19 ..	32
	Total number of places addressed ..	2,404

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high. Table III shows what provision existed in 1914-15, 1917-18, and 1918-19, respectively, in the places to which the inquiry of this Study was addressed.

Of the 433 cities reporting facilities in 1917-18, fifty-four places reported "no provision" in 1918-19, a loss of one place in eight. But this regrettable mortality is compensated for somewhat by the number of new cities establishing such work, 125, or 30 per cent. Within a year more than two cities give up this work entirely to every five cities which start it.

TEN CLASSES START, NINE STOP

A similar regrettable turnover occurs in the total number of classes for the foreign born conducted in the 475 cities reporting to this Study for the years 1917-18 and 1918-19.

TABLE IV
PUBLIC CLASSES FOR THE FOREIGN BORN REPORTED
FOR 475 CITIES IN 1917-18 AND 1918-19

REPORTS	NUMBER
Number of classes reported 1918-19.....	3,247
Number of classes reported 1917-18.....	3,146
Number of classes started 1918-19	731
Number of classes stopped by 1918-19	630
Net increase in number of classes	101
Number of places reporting classes increased.....	175
Number of places reporting classes decreased.....	115
Number of places reporting no change in number of classes..	185
Total number of places reporting number of classes..	475

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The number of new classes was 731, while the previously existing number of classes which were not continued into this year was 630; this means that there were nearly nine classes discontinued to every ten started. Considerable variation is shown in the continuation of classes for foreign born from city to city. For the year 1918-19, an increase in the number of classes provided for immigrants was reported in 175 cities. The following table indicates the amount of increase or decrease by classes:

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF INCREASE AND DECREASE IN NUMBERS OF
CLASSES IN 1917-18 AND 1918-19

AMOUNT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE BY CLASSES	NUMBER OF PLACES REPORT- ING CLASSES	
	Increased	Decreased
1	58	52
2	34	20
3	26	10
4	19	8
5	6	4
6	6	4
7	5	2
8	5	5
9	.	2
10	2	2
11	1	1
12	5	1
13	.	1
14	1	..
17	1	..
21	1	..
25	1	..
27	1	..
35	1	..
39	1	1
41	1	..
50	..	1
213	..	1
Total places	175	115

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An increase of only one class appears for one-third of the cities, an increase of twelve classes in each of five cities, while increases ranging from twenty-one to forty-one classes occurred in six cities. For the same year decreases in classes were reported by 115 cities; however, a decrease of but one class occurred in more than two-fifths of the cities, decreases from ten to thirteen classes appear in five cities.

For seventy-six cities, the Study has records of the number of classes existing over a four-year period. There are thirty-four places where the number of classes remained about the same or showed slight increase; twenty-four places show decreases, and eighteen show various fluctuations. These variations in the maintenance of classes indicate, for the several cities studied, extreme lack of uniformity in the provision of educational facilities for the foreign born.

LARGE TURNOVER IN ATTENDANCE

Attendance figures for a period of years attest the same impressive fluctuation. For the forty-four places for which figures for four or more years were obtained, the ratio between the number of places showing a decrease and those maintaining or increasing attendance is 21 to 8. For fifteen cities great varieties of fluctuation in attendance were reported. In one Massachusetts town there was a decrease in attendance of 80 per cent in the six years from 1913-14 to 1918-19 inclusive, although the proportion of attendance to enrollment was steadily maintained

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above 80 per cent. On the other hand, in a town in Wisconsin, where the same high ratio of attendance to enrollment was found, there was an increase of 230 per cent in attendance in the same period. No doubt in both places special local causes conditioned the change in the numbers of foreign born coming to the evening schools. The important point is that in so far as numbers of entries in evening classes for a period of years could be obtained, they show no uniform progress either throughout the country or within communities during that time. In the various types of communities there is not only the same relative failure to enroll in evening classes, but the same disconcerting lack of persistency of attendance. The more efficient evening schools hold their students better than the less efficient, but not much better.

One may set up rough laws of expectation as to what may happen when evening schools are opened in communities where immigrants are found in considerable numbers. Of the total number of immigrants whom the census returns designate as non-English-speaking, from 5 to 10 per cent may be expected to enroll. This is what happens when a reasonable amount of advertising has been done in the press, in the churches, at the moving-picture houses, and through similar agencies. The actual numbers that enroll seem impressive, but only so when one ignores the numbers that fail to do so. But after enrollment comes the dropping out, an occurrence which is uniform and disheartening. The numbers of

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pupils retained at the end of the short terms, sixty to one hundred nights, range from 33 to 50 per cent of all those enrolled during the term. This has been the experience in such cities as Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, and everywhere else where conditions have been examined. The casual character of night-school attendance is further emphasized by the disparity between attendance and enrollment at any given time in the term. The great variation in the meaning of "enrollment" in different school systems gives the figures the force of suggestive evidence rather than of exact statistics.

There were 140 places which returned figures for their enrollment and average attendance in the year 1918-19. The following tabular statement shows the range of such ratios:

RATIO OF ATTENDANCE TO ENROLLMENT	NUMBER OF PLACES
10 to 20	3
20 to 30	10
30 to 40	18
40 to 50	16
50 to 60	15
60 to 70	17
70 to 80	20
80 to 90	17
90 to 100	15
Total	140

The ratio between enrollment and average attendance for these places ranges from 16 to 100 per cent.

CAUSES FOR LEAVING

There is little positive evidence as to why evening-school students do not persevere in

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attendance. The ninth annual report of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago publishes the results of a study made in the McAllister School in Chicago in 1917. All the pupils who had dropped out from this evening school were visited by a representative of the League, and the reasons they gave for leaving school were tabulated as follows:

Overtime work.....	26
Night work.....	4
Working hours too long for pupil to get to school.	6
Work too exhausting	5
Home work (among girls).....	4
No work	3
Discouragement about school ..	10
No desire to learn English	3
Illness or family circumstances ..	18
All other reasons	22
Pupils not found (incorrect addresses given) ..	28
<hr/>	
Total.....	129

It will be observed that reasons not relating to the school are given in the majority of instances. There is little statistical evidence to show that the school has failed to meet the needs and expectations of the students, a common assumption made by most critics of the evening schools. Chapters V and VI discuss the causes of failure within the evening school. It should be noted, however, that there would be similar causes for failure in the day schools were not the pupils obliged to attend.

We have expected too much of the evening school. In our search for the causes of failure we have usually brought indictment against either the evening school or the immigrant.

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There is good cause to assume that the charge is to be laid upon neither of these. More careful study of causes points to the conclusion that the evening school by its nature cannot be an institution completely adapted to the needs of the majority of immigrants, and conversely, that the majority of immigrants find it impossible to use the evening school as their means of education.

The best that can be said of the evening school is that it promises to continue to be the chief public means of providing education for the immigrant as long as we are restricted by our present laws and financial resources; that it is far better to maintain this partial facility than to maintain none; that in the aggregate a considerable service is rendered, and that when other and more competent provision is made the evening school will still remain for some individuals the most suitable agency of education.

SOCIAL SUPPLEMENTS

We still need to improve our evening schools, to provide more adequate pay for teachers and executives, to furnish more suitable texts and material, to extend the school year, to better our systems of grading and promotion. Chapters V, VI, and VII will deal further with these points. Particularly, we need to take into consideration the kinds of appeal that are effective with the foreign born. We now make the mistake of assuming that the immigrant comes

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to the school simply to receive instruction. In general, the immigrant is a more social being than is the native, but we are inclined to assume that what suits the native is pleasing to the foreign born. The efforts which New York and Pittsburgh make to socialize their evening schools for immigrants are significant and suggestive for other cities; in these cities the usual instruction for foreign born in English and other common branches is combined with recreation, play, dancing—in other words, it is a socialized scheme of schooling. Increased interest, achievement, and persistence are concomitant results.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF FACTORY CLASSES

Let us renew the consideration begun in Chapter II of the possibilities for better education of the immigrant in the device known as the factory class. There is much agitation for the organization of factory classes, and many are being established, but as yet they do not rival the evening school. It now seems certain that we shall see a substantial development of the factory class in the immediate future. In Massachusetts, where the evening school has had its longest history and its limitations are fully recognized, the state Board of Education and the state Bureau of Immigration have joined forces to encourage the development and expansion of factory classes. A table which displays their plan for classes held in co-operation with industrial plants is included in the following

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excerpts from the Massachusetts Federal-state program for immigrant education, entitled, "Suggestions for the Organization of Classes for the Teaching of English."

The teaching of English is the first step in the process of Americanization. Since Americanization is essentially a problem of education, all classes organized for this purpose should be under the direct supervision of the public-school authorities. Many agencies are interested in the task, but public schools are nonpartisan, nonecclesiastical and belong to all the people. It is for this reason that the work of Americanization should be performed under their direction, whether the work be supported by public or private agencies.

The following table will show the great variety of co-operative plans which are possible. A workable plan adapted to the needs of any local situation can be worked from these tables.

CLASSES HELD IN CO-OPERATION WITH INDUSTRIES

A Location of Class	B Class Held in	C Class Held During	D Cost of Instruction Paid by	E Supplies Furnished by	F Supervision by
1. In factory	1. Employer's time	1. Forenoon	1. Local school department	1. Local school department	Public official designated by local school board
2. In rooms	2. Part employer's and part employee's time	2. Afternoon	2. Employer	2. Employer	
3. In public schools	3. Employee's time	3. Evening	3. Private agencies 4. Employees 5. Unpaid volunteers	3. Private agencies	

Example: A-1+B-1+C-2+D-1+E-1+F indicates a class held in the factory in the employer's time in the afternoon, having an instructor and supplies furnished by the local school department, and under the supervision of an official designated by the local school board.

Example: A-2+B-2+C-2+D-5+E-1+F indi-

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cates a class held in rooms near the factory, partly in the employer's time and partly in the employee's time, in the afternoon; that is, say, from 4.30 to 5.30 for a factory whose closing hour is 5.00, with unpaid volunteers supplying the instructor and the local school department furnishing the supplies and supervisor.

The plan offered by Massachusetts must be understood as a table of alternative combinations and as such is sound and practical, assuming that additional funds may be forthcoming from the nation or state to make it possible for the community to undertake the additional expense. The state of New York has adopted this policy. Let it be remembered that there are at present no national funds for the teaching of English to the foreign born, and few states offer a subsidy. Massachusetts at present expects the local communities to raise all funds for educational purposes except for industrial education of immigrants over twenty-one years of age, so that this state, and the majority of others, cannot undertake extensively an educational project which draws upon the funds intended exclusively for the education of the children, for the instruction of considerable groups of adults. As a practical result of these limitations there is little choice possible. Under these conditions, if factory classes are to be established generally, they must be undertaken by employers.

It is expected that industrial managers will invite the supervision of public authorities over classes maintained by industrial establishments. That such supervision could effectively influence

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courses of study, methods of teaching, and use of materials seems beyond expectation; nevertheless, the principle of public supervision of factory classes is worth conserving while we are waiting for the more fundamental one of public operation to become feasible.

Our present course in developing methods of administration for schools maintained by industrial plants is characteristically American. We begin with a "going concern" and proceed to add piecemeal one improvement after another; the ready-made, perfected institutions have found little favor in our country. We are in the earliest stages of the factory class; but we are finding out what to do, and what we need in order to carry out our maturing plans. In general the answer to the query as to what we need, is legislation and funds.

What are the shortcomings under which factory classes labor at present? First, the classes themselves exist only sporadically, though every industry employing fifty or more non-English-speaking adults should maintain such classes, unless the community offers some competent and available equivalent opportunity. Compulsory attendance except for minors is not recommended, but the opportunity to attend should be furnished. Second, the teaching should be guaranteed by public authorities as to quality; at present there is necessarily faulty work where trained teachers are not provided; suitable classrooms are often lacking, and the materials for instruction are not well selected.

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The Massachusetts state Board of Education, through the agency of the state Department of Educational Extension, has endeavored to meet the lack of ideal conditions under which classes may be maintained in industrial plants by a variety of devices. In particular, training classes for teachers of non-English-speaking adults have been organized and conducted on the short-unit basis. The plan assumes that nonprofessionally equipped persons, such as foremen in factories, can be made into acceptable teachers for the particular purpose, by means of short-time intensive training. We shall question this assumption in succeeding chapters, but are willing to concede that the lightning-trained teacher is better than no teacher. The department in addition has formulated detailed lesson sheets containing industrial, social, and civic vocabularies, which are believed to guarantee fair results when used by specifically trained teachers.

Under these conditions, because of the benefit accruing to industry through the immigrant, the beneficiary is asked to assume a burden not customarily put upon productive enterprise. The effort has met with some response, not widespread, but sufficient to show two things: first, that defensible results may be obtained by means of a hasty progress; second, that many industries show an appreciation of civic co-operation, social betterment, and a sense of responsibility for the citizenship of their working forces.

Evidence is accumulating that with moderate funds much may be accomplished. Let the

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state, aided by the nation, furnish a substantial subsidy and commission the community to assume the new educational responsibility. The community may then proceed to furnish suitable teachers, educational material, courses of study, and means of supervision. The employer should be required to co-operate to the extent of furnishing the place of instruction and of arranging the hours of his workers so that they may conveniently attend the classes. Since industry may be expected to benefit materially in the way of better service, fewer accidents, less misunderstandings, and reduced labor turnover, we may expect industrial concerns to encourage their workers to attend classes, by payment for the time spent in classes or by other effective means. We may, furthermore, expect industry to help from purely altruistic motives; industry, too, is a public trust and accountable for its influences upon the citizenship of those constituting its organization.

The inequalities of the present educational provision is the chief reason why we must not remain content with it. To the present constitutional guaranty given each individual—"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—we may properly add another—namely, the opportunity for education. That one individual should have this crowning right in comparative abundance and another not at all is a situation which can no longer be defended. We have seen that about one community in two, where there are large numbers of non-English-speaking im-

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migrants, possesses evening schools, institutions which in themselves are limited. The percentage of industries maintaining factory classes has never been computed, but we know that the proportion is so small that the great number of immigrant workers in industry are unprovided for. New York, Chicago, and Cleveland have done most in this field. Somehow, somewhere, every non-English-speaking immigrant should have an opportunity for education; until this is furnished we have no moral right to institute legislation compelling the immigrant to possess that which he has little opportunity to acquire. Let us multiply opportunities, and if the immigrant then still resists we shall have some reason to consider compulsion.

Let us, however, be fair to those industrial leaders who have been far-sighted enough to furnish what the public has failed to provide adequately. The employer may not have been wholly altruistic in establishing these provisions, but he is deserving of credit for attempting something that is in part without assurance of financial profit. An instance of the concrete satisfaction which manufacturers have experienced in undertaking educational programs is illustrated in excerpts from a reply to an inquiry of this Study, which is typical of many others. This letter is chosen because it illustrates several important features—namely, the experimental character of the work, the difficulties encountered, the methods used, and some of the results obtained.

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October 10, 1918.

STUDY OF METHODS OF AMERICANIZATION,
576 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN, . . . We took up this work a year ago and during the past year have conducted two Americanization classes among our foreign-speaking workingmen. Teachers were provided by the Board of Education. The course of instruction followed was laid out by the board with special reference to the nature of the work. The interest shown by the workingmen was such that, whereas at the inception of the classes we intended to hold but two sessions a week, we, at the request of the pupils themselves, held five sessions per week throughout the term, and the attendance throughout held up in a satisfactory manner, and the interest among the men who benefited by the classes was marked.

As a preliminary inducement toward getting our men to accept this opportunity we informed our workingmen (at our Cleveland plant) that we would be willing to share one-half the burden of their instruction by paying them regular wage rates for one-half the time spent in the classroom, and this plan has been followed up to this time.

We were rather disappointed at the beginning by finding a considerable proportion of our foreign-speaking workmen rather indifferent to the question of education, although we endeavored to explain to them that it would be very difficult for them to absorb American ideas and ideals unless they were able to both speak the English language and read the public press printed in the English language. . . .

We have now organized for the fall and winter along the same lines as were followed out last spring and summer.

Our chief difficulty was in providing a suitable location for the school sessions, where the men could attend without loss of time, and we accomplished this by setting up a classroom in the plant. The night men attended a one-hour session before reporting for work, and the day men had their session at the close of their day's work. . . .

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WORKING WITH IMMIGRANT SOCIETIES

Profitable co-operative relations, similar to those established between public educational agencies and industrial organizations, are being formed by the public schools with the immigrants' own organizations. It is coming to be a common occurrence for trade-unions, especially in certain industries which have foreign-born workers, to create educational committees whose function is to work out an educational program to meet the needs of its members. In several cities, co-operative relations have been established with the local boards of education, and classes in English have been carried on jointly. The most extensive work of this kind has been done by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in conjunction with the New York City Board of Education. For two years an arrangement has existed whereby the union provides the attendance in classes for English and other broader subjects, which meet in the school buildings, in charge of teachers supplied by the school board. In 1918-19 there were nineteen such English classes maintained in four public schools, with an aggregate average attendance of 570. This is a small proportion of the evening-school attendance in the New York schools, but the good will and co-operation of the workers are not measured by numbers and are assets not to be overlooked; the school must make use of any spontaneous and self-initiated efforts to get instruction in English, and it may be

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possible that attendance can be got and maintained in this way where no other method would succeed.

The educational director of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union points out that the union holds a strategic position in relation to the education of the workers.

The shop plays the same social role in the life of the adult worker as does the school in that of a child. In it he finds his group, his center of social gravity, his chief point of interest.

If this theory is tenable, the union has a peculiar position in relation to educational work among its members. If it forms the natural and cohesive group, to which the workers look automatically and with confidence, it can have a considerable influence in adult education. Similar co-operative relations are also being established with other organizations in which the immigrants' leisure-time activities and interests center.

The function of this chapter is to discuss public institutions for the Americanization of the immigrant. The preceding pages have set forth the case of the evening school and of classes held in places of employment and in co-operation with the immigrants' own organizations. We have by no means completed the category of needed institutions if we are to provide for every individual who requires an adequate opportunity for elementary education. Literacy, at least, is the right of every individual, and it is a debatable question whether the state

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may not demand literacy of adults, as the right of the state; the state, however, is in no position to set up a demand until it has made provision for meeting it.

CONNECTING HOME AND SCHOOL

The illiterate or non-English-speaking woman in the home is not reached with any surety through either the evening school or the factory class. Throughout the country it is found that foreign-born women are not found in industrial employment in the same proportion as are foreign-born men, so that the factory class will not reach the majority of foreign-born women. Evening schools uniformly are made up of males in undue proportion. We may only suggest the reasons for this situation. Certain Old World races disapprove of the woman leaving the home to appear in public places; their women marry early, have large families, and usually cultivate a deeper home life than do native women.

If the foreign-born woman is to be furnished educational opportunity, we shall need to devise additional agencies for the purpose. The problem of the immigrant woman in the home is the most difficult one confronting Americanization forces to-day. Mention has been made of the use of the home teacher, originating under public auspices in California; this project, however, is to-day scarcely more than a name and a hope elsewhere. No one has attempted to define

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what shall be the technique of the home teacher.¹ All sorts of difficulties appear. There is the question of expense: to teach individuals in their homes would take a great many teachers and involve a per capita expense far in excess of the cost of the group teaching hitherto carried on. How shall the home teacher gain access to the home—a difficulty by no means imaginary? Then again, the immigrant home with its many children, boarders, relatives, presents unpromising conditions for instruction. The home teacher would seem to work to greater advantage by persuading the women in the home to attend convenient classes held during the day in some neighboring school, and to follow up attendance at such classes. The home teacher ought surely to visit the homes of immigrant women and to persuade attendance at classes especially arranged; she may be of substantial service in aiding immigrant women to learn about American conditions of living, in giving instruction about the care of children, and in solving the difficulties encountered by women placed in a strange environment. At the best there will always be many women who by reason of family cares

¹ The State Commission on Immigration and Housing of California has this to say of the home teacher in its *Manual for Home Teachers*:

"The home teacher, as we conceive her purpose, seeks not primarily the special child, though that will often open the door to her, and afford her a quick opportunity for friendly help, but the home as such, and especially the mother who makes it. This discrimination as to aim and purpose cannot be too much emphasized, or too consistently maintained; for the care of abnormal children, important as it is, can by no means take the place of the endeavor to Americanize the families of the community."

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cannot attend any organized classes. Where there are infants or very small children the mother can neither take them with her nor leave them behind. The futility of drastic compulsory-education laws applying to all immigrants must be recognized in view of the possibilities of compliance in the case of mothers of families. In recognition of such conditions the Massachusetts legislature amended the compulsory illiterate-minor law in 1913 to exclude married females, who were formerly included.

The home-teacher project is too valuable to be abandoned merely because unforeseen difficulties have been encountered. The home teacher can be an influence for the Americanization of women in the home, where no other agent can be so effective; and even though she does not teach the mother English, the home teacher can demonstrate by action and friendliness the benign intent of the state in offering helpful services to all strangers who have come among us. There is much social service which the home teacher can perform, such as explaining to immigrant mothers the laws and customs of American life, the school-attendance requirements for children, the meaning of report cards sent from the school, the existence and location of public baths, libraries, dispensaries, clinics, and many other institutions intended for the comfort and pleasure of their families. There is no reason why public agents should not perform in part these functions which hitherto have been considered to be wholly in the field of social service

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and carried on by social workers. It is to be noted that there is a growing tendency to place public agents in this field; it is the reluctance of the public to recognize the extent of its obligations that has made it necessary for private agencies to dominate this department of service. The performance of social work by the home teacher may not displace the private worker, but it may supplement and make more far-reaching the good will and assistance which everywhere should be extended to the immigrant. There is one advantage in assigning social service to the home teacher instead of to the social worker: the private agent's concern with the home suggests charity or patronage, and sometimes gives offense; the public agent represents a service which may be claimed as a right and not a favor. Furthermore, the public agent is freer from suspicion of any possible ulterior motive.

DAY SCHOOL, CENTER OF SYSTEM

At this point we may proceed to point out further advantages of the day school for immigrants discussed in Chapter II. The day school for immigrants may be described as something similar to a holding corporation for a number of subsidiary enterprises, such as the factory class, the day class for mothers, the class for employed adults who cannot attend evening school, and the evening-school class. There may be considerable doubt as to whether the home teacher

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should be attached to the regular day school in the immigrant district or to the day school for immigrants. From the point of view of organization and environment, the choice at present would seem to fall upon the day school for immigrants. The home teacher will secure largest returns in her educational task by bringing the immigrant mother into a convenient mothers' class, and this is an additional reason why she should be the agent and representative of the day school for immigrants. It will depend upon the development of the function of the home teacher whether she becomes an instrument primarily for education or for social service. Americanization, of course, means both influences, though the question of proportions is still undetermined. In the past we viewed the educational function as of larger importance, but increased experience is showing us that instruction in English is but one of the factors in the process of national unification.

The day school for immigrants should have a principal or director who is a specialist in Americanization, and who may devote attention exclusively to the one problem, as do principals and directors of other special phases of work in our public-school systems. The country to-day contains almost no examples of such organization. The last report of the Commissioner of Education contains no instance of a clear-cut assignment of the functions concerning immigrant education to one executive. A number of cities report having directors of evening

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schools, but detailed inquiries almost invariably bring out the fact that the director of immigrant education is at the same time an elementary-school principal, as in Rochester, New York, or an assistant superintendent with other and usually many assignments. Boston has a special director of evening schools of all types and of immigrant education; Los Angeles has a supervisor of immigrant education.

We may again call attention to the opportunity presented in the day school for immigrants for maintaining a distinct and professional corps of teachers whose function is solely part-time education for non-English-speaking immigrants, native illiterates, and adults with defective elementary education. The evening high school is a distinct and separate problem; on the other hand, all part-time instruction of academic grade below the high school may best be the function of the day school for immigrants. Since this school is operated throughout the day (morning, afternoon, and evening), full-time assignments to teachers may be made, so that the per capita expense of instruction need not exceed the present cost of high-school instruction.

The term "day school for immigrants" is practically unknown throughout the country, and the practice implied is not less so. This fact may justify more specific description of the single instance existing in Boston. The director of evening schools of Boston is likewise in charge of the day school for immigrants. As stated previously, this institution was the result of the

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extension of the idea of part-time education into the day period for considerable groups of adults who were engaged in evening employments, such as work in hotels, restaurants, theaters. The day school for immigrants was not an invention, but rather a discovery, for it was not deliberately planned to perform what has now become its function. The first teachers assigned to the Boston school were selected and trained from the staff of the continuation school, a part-time school for working boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age. The background which the continuation-school teacher brings to the problem of the education of the immigrant is not inappropriate. The part-time teacher deals with people who are not primarily school pupils, but chiefly wage earners or home makers. The similarities of procedure in the continuation school and in the day school for immigrants are more significant than are the differences. The continuation-school teacher needs, in addition to her general background, special training in methods of teaching English to foreign born; but the transition to the new task is far easier for her than for the regular day-school teacher. It is not at all impossible to predict that our present evening schools for immigrants will become evening classes of the day school for immigrants, a lesser instead of a greater agent as at present.

The weakness of organization of the present evening school is the temporary and makeshift character of its personnel. The teachers in most

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instances are day-school teachers rendering service over and above the usual burden of day-school work; the principals are either day-school executives or professional men of the community. If our expectation works out—namely, that the evening school in the future will not overshadow the day classes of one type or another—then it will be perfectly possible for all the teachers and executives needed in the evening classes to be members of the parent organization—namely, the day school for immigrants—and, consequently, all our workers in evening schools may be trained specialists working in the evening as a part of a normal assignment. Up to the present there seems to have appeared no practical solution to the fundamental difficulties inherent in the evening school. Our plan consists in reducing the evening school to a subordinate position in a larger organization and in supplying teachers and executives, not from the day-school force as overtime workers, but from the larger organization, the day school for immigrants, as regular workers meeting a normal assignment. This plan appears not only educationally desirable, but economical.

In setting forth this conclusion it is assumed that we are to set about seriously to make adequate provision for the schooling of the immigrant, which involves additional legislation and more adequate funds. We need fear neither the necessity of drastic legislation nor that of largely increased appropriations. As has been stated, our evening-school appropriations do not

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exceed 1 per cent of the total appropriations for all school purposes, as shown in the school budgets of cities like Boston, New York, and Los Angeles. More than half the communities having considerable immigrant populations have no evening schools and spend nothing; those which do maintain evening schools spend an infinitesimal amount. If all the communities where the need exists would appropriate an amount equal to 5 per cent of the total school appropriation, everything here recommended could be carried out effectively. It is doubtful whether the evening school needs for its maintenance a sum exceeding 1 per cent of the total school budget. In view of the limited number of immigrants who can attend, and of the essential limitations of the evening school as an institution for Americanization, it is not feasible to spend large sums of money for this purpose. If Americanization is worth attempting at all, the public ought not to hesitate to provide the moderate funds necessary.

CITIZENSHIP TRAINING FOR CHILDREN

The discussion up to this point has dealt with institutions for the education of adults; we must proceed now to deal with public institutions designed for the education of children. The most significant potentialities for the citizenship of the nation must be sought in the education of the children. We may, by educational influences, effect some changes in the habits and dis-

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position of the adult, and what we are able to do in this direction is worth while; but we can build far more fundamentally and enduringly in the character of the child.

Most of our immigrants are either adults or above the compulsory school age. It is natural, then, that in discussing educational institutions designed to meet the needs of the immigrant we deal chiefly with part-time and supplementary forms of education suitable for employed adults. Children of immigrants young enough to come under compulsory-school-attendance laws go to the regular schools. The methods of treating non-English-speaking immigrant children in public schools vary by communities, but not enough to make it possible to say that we treat immigrant children differently from the way in which we treat native children. There is general agreement in the practice of progressive communities in grouping older immigrant children in special classes for intensive work in English, in order that they may acquire the common tongue as a tool for work through which they can be advanced rapidly to classes of children of their own age. Many of our larger cities maintain what are known as "steamer classes," or "special English classes," where this program is carried out; this procedure is found in cities like New York, Boston, Detroit, and Cleveland. There is much evidence of the continuance in some communities of the bad practice originally in vogue in all cities—namely, the grouping of non-English-speaking children of all ages and degrees of maturity in the lowest

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grades of the schools, on the assumption that they could more suitably or more economically be given instruction in English in this manner. This practice is demoralizing to the children who actually belong in the lower grades and discouraging to the immigrant child, who may naturally fail to feel a spontaneous affection for American institutions in the unfavorable school environment into which he is forced. It would not be an unnecessary safeguard to require by legislation that communities make special provision for gradation of immigrant children in the schools, after the present practice of the cities commended above.

THE LAWRENCE PLAN

There are instances of communities attempting more ambitious plans than special classes for non-English-speaking children. The city of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1918 organized a whole elementary-school district around the idea of giving the pupils a distinctly superior training in citizenship. Lawrence is one of the most outstandingly immigrant cities in the nation; the industrial strife that has focused public attention on this city during recent years is sufficient evidence of the need of energetic attention to the quality of citizenship in this community. Many of the causes of unrest may be purely economic—low wages and poor living conditions; but again, much of it undeniably is due to the sudden accumulation of a population that is non-

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English-speaking and unassimilated. The city of Lawrence, consequently, presents an appropriate situation for a determined experiment in Americanization, with the method of approach through the children in the schools.

The Oliver elementary school of Lawrence, comprising 1,400 children, has been chosen for this educational experiment in Americanization. It must not be assumed that the children attending this school are mostly non-English-speaking; they are, in fact, in large part native born of foreign parentage. The purpose of the plan is to give a more effective training in American citizenship than is given in the typical public school. The experiment is particularly significant because of our consciousness that while we have appreciated the importance of good citizenship as a fundamental school objective, we have not specifically shaped the influences of the school to this end, as has been indicated in Chapter I. What Lawrence is attempting may be a forward step which all public schools should undertake; the growing tendencies in American life give increasing justification for such a procedure.

We may quote from the stated aims of those conducting the experiment in Lawrence:

The Lawrence plan was born of our belief that every schoolboy and schoolgirl in the country ought to know and appreciate the privileges and duties of being a good American. We aim to teach the sacrifices and achievements of our forefathers in founding our democracy, to point out the promises of our future as well as its perils, and to warn of the grave menaces to democracy which confront us to-day.

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To achieve these aims it is proposed not to substitute a new curriculum for that in common use, but to permeate all subjects in the curriculum with a spirit of Americanism. No radical reorganization of the school will be attempted, but a new emphasis on training for citizenship will be set up. The director states that

citizenship will give new life and meaning to the everyday work of the school. The subject of history, as an instance in point, will be taught not merely for its facts, but for its values, and those values which emphasize American life and ideals.

The subject of civics will be given a new importance and taught not merely through textbooks, but by stimulating the spirit of devotion to the community, the school, the home, the neighborhood, and places of employment. Literature and music will be taught not merely to acquaint pupils with authors and their works, but to arouse enthusiasm for the higher values of human devotion, aspiration, and sacrifice, particularly for those things which the American spirit holds dear. The directors of the school hope to vitalize other subjects of the curriculum, such as arithmetic and science. It is hoped that health subjects, physiology, and hygiene can be made to arouse a truly American zeal for bodily strength and vigor.

The life of the school itself is to illustrate the practical workings of democracy:

The school that teaches the principles of democracy should be itself a democracy. The child learns how to be a good citizen by being a good citizen. The life of the

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school should give free play to common interest and common action for the common good. The school must train in initiative, in self-control, in respect for liberty under law.

It cannot be said that the Lawrence plan is wholly distinctive, nor do the directors of the institution make claim of this. Thousands of public schools throughout the nation will be found to be pursuing plans somewhat similar. The Lawrence plan, however, does place more emphasis upon Americanism and specific ideals of citizenship than is found elsewhere. The plan sets about capitalizing deliberately the current appreciation of the need of a better Americanism and a higher ideal of citizenship; love of country, instead of being the background of school effort, has been made the dominant, central idea.

LEADERSHIP IN A NEW WORLD

The war has brought a new spirit of devotion and enthusiasm into the public-school systems of the nation. The Lawrence plan is but one instance of the fact. Scarcely a state legislature in session during the past year has not been considering a comprehensive bill for the reorganization and improvement of public education. The nation, too, is reflecting the popular interest in educational matters, and a number of bills vitally affecting public education are pending before both branches of Congress. For the first time in our history as a nation we are seriously considering some kind of nationaliza-

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tion of education. The recent example of England in enacting the Fisher bill for education has stimulated us to take up educational projects similarly from a national viewpoint. Several bills illustrate the current conviction that we need to augment the present forces of the community and the state through the aid of the nation.

The growth of democracy throughout the world as a result of the issues of the war is accompanied by the stimulation of popular education in all countries. So we find in our own case the nation, the state, and the community joining forces for the strengthening and expansion of public education. We are proposing to make larger appropriations for school purposes, to extend the period of compulsory attendance, to equalize educational opportunities in communities and in states, to give attention to the physical welfare of boys and girls, to furnish training in skilled industrial pursuits, to raise the quality and dignity of the teaching profession by increased compensation. We are proposing this educational advance for the general purposes of human betterment and for the specific purposes of a better Americanism, a better citizenship, a safer democracy. We are becoming thoroughly sensitive to the dangers that confront the world. We were not able to keep out of the "last war that we are able to keep out of." We now recognize that we belong to the world, and that nothing that concerns the world is a matter of indifference to us; we must

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play our part, and the leadership that has been thrust upon us and the trust that has been reposed in us can be met only if we create the strong nation which alone can bear such burdens and meet such expectations. The hegemony of the new world of nations, we may hope, will be founded upon moral qualities rather than might; in the hope that we may have the moral leadership in the new order, we must develop ourselves through our institutions—our schools, our churches, our families, our industries, our agencies for government.

IV

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

AMERICA has a substantial proportion of her children in schools other than public. Private schools have a varied range of purpose and character. For the wealthy the private school furnishes an opportunity for selected associations, healthful environment, and such educational advantages as small classes, superior teachers, and better educational material. For religious bodies the private school presents an opportunity for the inculcation of religious principles and practice in institutions where religion is given first place in the curriculum. For nationalistic associations the private school permits of the transmission of nationalistic ideals, language, and race inheritances. We usually find the nationalistic motive, especially in bilingual schools, associated with the religious purpose; comment has been made earlier upon the close connection between nationalism and religious belief.

INCREASE OF ENROLLMENT

Of children attending private schools, the largest number are found in those which exalt

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religious ideals independently of nationalism, and which are commonly known as parochial schools. These schools are ostensibly English-speaking; they are usually of elementary grade and similar in character to the public schools. So-called "select" private schools, with no religious or nationalistic purpose, are more numerous in the East than in the West; these are not increasing noticeably in enrollment. But private schools with nationalistic-religious purposes and those having a solely religious purpose are increasing.¹

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND IN
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN FOUR PERIODS FROM
1900 TO 1915

Year	Children Enrolled in		Catholic-school Pupils per 100 Public-school Pupils
	Public Schools	Catholic Schools	
1900	15,503,110	854,525	5+
1905	16,468,300	1,031,378	6+
1910	17,813,852	1,237,251	7-
1915	19,698,007	1,456,206	7+

A large and increasing proportion of the elementary-school population of this country is to be found in parochial schools. In 1910 there were, according to the *Official Catholic Directory*, 4,845 Catholic parishes with schools. In 1919 this number had increased to 5,788, at the rate of 105 schools per year. Judging from data of the same source, the proportional increase in

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1916, p. 118; the *Official Catholic Directory*, Kennedy & Sons, New York, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915.

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the number of children enrolled in Catholic schools has been greater than in that of children enrolled in public schools. In 1910 there were reported 1,237,251 children attending Catholic schools in the United States. By 1915 this number had increased to 1,456,206, or by 17.7 per cent. The increase in the enrollment of pupils in the public schools of the country during the same period amounted only to 10.6 per cent. Parochial high schools are also rapidly increasing; so that we may expect in the future to find an increasing number of pupils attending private schools, from the lowest to the highest grades.

Available statistical data indicate unmistakably that, at least in certain of our larger cities, the Catholic schools are making much larger strides in the enrollment of pupils than the public schools are making. In the city of Baltimore, for instance, the enrollment of pupils in the public schools from 1900 to 1915 had decreased by nine-tenths of one per cent; while during the same period the enrollment of pupils in the archdiocese of which Baltimore is the main part had increased by 19.8 per cent. Again, during the same period the percentages of increase in the enrollment of pupils in the public schools of the cities of Boston and Philadelphia were, respectively, 31.8 and 30.2, while in the archdioceses of which these cities are main parts the percentages of increase were 58.1 and 86.7,¹

¹ Computed from the reports of the Commissioner of Education (1899-1900, vol. ii), pp. 1798-1809, and from the *Official Catholic Directory*, 1900, 1915.

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respectively. Although the archdioceses are not strictly comparable with the cities by which they are named, yet there can be little doubt that the percentages of increase in the archdioceses are largely, if not wholly, due to the increases in their largest cities.

The number and distribution by nationality of parochial schools in Massachusetts are indicated in Table VII.

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN MASSACHUSETTS ¹

NATIONALITY	STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS		DIOCESE OF BOSTON		DIOCESE OF SPRINGFIELD		DIOCESE OF FALL RIVER	
	Number of Parishes Having Schools	Number of Pupils	Number of Parishes Having Schools	Number of Pupils	Number of Parishes Having Schools	Number of Pupils	Number of Parishes Having Schools	Number of Pupils
French	61 ¹	3,1628	18 ²	10,929	29 ³	13,774	14 ⁴	6,925
Polish	13	6,910	6	2,449	6	4,273	1	388
Italian	3	1,354	3	1,354				
German	2	473	2	473				
Portuguese	1	395					1	395
Other	122	70,346	76	51,887	33	13,425	13	5,034
Total	202	111,106	105	66,892	68	31,472	20	12,744

¹ Out of 82 parishes

² Out of 23 parishes

³ Out of 40 parishes

⁴ Out of 19 parishes

An estimate based upon this table shows that approximately one-fifth of all the school children of the state are in parochial schools. Attention has been called before to the fact that the number of children in parochial schools is increasing faster than that of children in the public schools. Catholic parishes which have had no schools

¹ Compiled by J. Arthur Favreau, Secretary Franco-American Historical Society.

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are planning to establish them. The situation in Massachusetts is fairly typical of what is found in other Northern industrial states, which, it must be remembered, are immigrant states.

CITIZENSHIP GUARANTIES REQUIRED

It is fairly obvious that under these conditions an increasing proportion of the children of this country will receive their training for citizenship in schools other than public. Much wisdom and tact will need to be exercised by the state in dealing with the problems arising from the growth and prospective increase in number of private schools. In general our line of approach would seem to be to make clear that the state has the right to receive guaranties as to the civic education of all future citizens, but that it is recognized that in the exercise of this right there must be no interference with educational and personal liberty. The situation is full of all sorts of dangers, and will require the utmost patience and wisdom before a satisfactory solution may be expected.

While there is ample evidence that the purposes of citizenship are cherished in the private schools, there has arisen enough question to impel many states to set up regulative laws applying to private schools, and to require that the curriculums of the latter shall be similar to those maintained in the public schools. Many states are prohibiting the exclusive use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction in elementary schools, and with respect to

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bilingual schools regulations are appearing which require that due proportion of attention be given to English. It seems evident that if the state is to safeguard its interest in the civic education of the child, legislation regulating private schools is a matter of public importance. If the state is to have no influence on the education of children not in public institutions, then the state is without guaranties as to the training of a considerable and increasing number of future citizens.

In Nebraska there were introduced, without success, in the legislative session of 1919, measures to abolish all private education; many states are contemplating legislation of varying kinds for the regulation or supervision of private schools, instances of which are found in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Iowa (see Chapter IX).

In the growing tendency to regulate private education the mistake will come if the problem is dealt with unsympathetically. Those who hold the sole end of education to be citizenship in a secular sense will meet with the opposition of religious leaders who determine the character of private schools. These leaders exalt another aim of education—namely, religious training—and they believe that the state exceeds its rights when secular aims are enforced to the exclusion or to the subordination of the spiritual. The problem is further complicated in the case of bilingual or nationalistic schools, where those in control wish to exalt language or racial

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heritages. The public school, by reason of its cosmopolitan character and, furthermore, by reason of statutory provisions, cannot attempt religious instruction nor magnify racial heritages. Its aim is primarily secular, civic, and nationalistic from the American viewpoint; whereas the private school maintains, in addition to the civic aim, usually the religious and sometimes the nationalistic or racial aim.

The difficulties attendant upon the regulation of private education are many. We have never made a serious attempt to maintain a system of inspection and approval of private education in this country. Where laws have required such a course, they have usually been disregarded; it was evident that their enforcement would be met with suspicion and resentment, and public officials have been loath to stir up a situation in which the charge of religious or racial persecution might be raised. Most states by constitutional provision forbid the use of public moneys for private schools; in consequence, the private school is supported wholly by private funds. To inspect, regulate, receive guaranties from, or question in any way institutions maintained by private funds is a new turn in American procedure, and we may expect much controversy before principles are established which will be acceptable to all interests concerned.

REGULATION THROUGH REGENTS' EXAMINATION

The state of New York in its system of Regents' examinations maintains a method of estimating

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the academic requirements of children of all kinds of schools. The Regents' requirements are a prerequisite for so many educational and business positions that private schools uniformly seek the advantages which the Regents' certificate alone will give. Examinations set by state authorities have the advantage of impersonality and in New York have apparently been received with cordiality by the private schools themselves. The disadvantage of such an examination system is that the method is pedagogically doubtful. This is a matter of opinion, of course, but the majority educational opinion of the country is opposed to a system of promotion or classification of pupils solely on the basis of formal and written examinations of any type. From the standpoint of citizenship, examinations obviously cannot evaluate loyalty to the nation or the spirit of Americanism which the state would have all the schools engender.

STATUTE WITHOUT ENFORCEMENT

Even though the examination system be of doubtful pedagogical value, the state of New York is in a more comfortable position with respect to its efforts to guarantee the character of private education than are most of the other states. Massachusetts, for twenty years, has had a statute demanding the approval of private schools by public authorities, and unsatisfactory schools in this state may be closed and their pupils required to attend public schools. En-

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forcement of the law is left to the public-school officials of local communities. There is competent evidence to show that the law has not usually been enforced. The local officials have apparently been unwilling to assume a function so full of danger. Public opinion has been so keen to maintain religious freedom that there is hesitation to make any move that seems to threaten that freedom, particularly because the private school is often maintained as an essential part of the practice of religion. The situation is this: The exercise of the state's well-founded right to guarantee the character of its citizenship seems to the minds of some who support and control private schools to be an attempt on the part of the state to interfere with the freedom of private education. This is why the problem is difficult; this is the reason why legislators hesitate; this is the reason why we shall find difficulty in effecting an immediate solution.

Massachusetts, in 1919, proposed a law whereby the enforcement of the present statute should be better carried out. The new law would have required that local school officials report to state school officials upon the satisfactory or unsatisfactory condition of private schools. There was to be no penalty, but there would be publicity. The proposed change was strongly opposed by those in charge of private education, and primarily on the ground indicated above, namely, freedom of private education, and the law failed of passage.

While the assumption is entirely defensible

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that the state has no other motive than solicitude for the character of citizenship, it is obviously difficult to carry through a procedure affecting a group which questions the motive and raises an issue which the state is anxious to avoid. In fairness it may be repeated that little suspicion has been raised as to the character of instruction in citizenship in English-speaking private schools. Some suspicion has been aroused in the case of bilingual schools regarding the character of civic training and the use of the English language; the evidence has shown that in some of these schools instruction in the English language has been neglected.

It is admitted that bilingual schools in Massachusetts have been much more careful in the observance of the law in recent years. Their directors have been sensitive to the pressure of public opinion about the acquisition and use of the English language. Furthermore, in Massachusetts, the parochial schools are under diocesan school organizations which require them to maintain certain minimum standards in their school work. The present program of co-operative action on the part of large groups of parochial schools promises good educational results. However, many authorities in charge of English-speaking parochial schools in Massachusetts objected to the proposed law whereby the state authorities were to be given greater powers for the enforcement of the present law. In addition to the fear of curtailment of educational liberty, objections were raised lest the state undertake

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any move which would seem to limit the liberty of action which private schools believe to be theirs. The charge was made that state authority in education means centralization of power and consequent failure to sympathize with community needs and local institutions.

INDORSEMENT OF FRANCO-AMERICAN CONGRESS

The resolutions of the Franco-American Congress, held in Worcester, Massachusetts, February 25, 1919, make the following statement of position regarding the problem of Americanization and the use of the mother tongue:

1. The Franco-American Catholic Federation admits that a knowledge of the English language promotes a closer political, social, and economic union among the various groups which make up the American nation;

2. The Franco-American Catholic Federation does not admit that this union requires the abandonment of the mother tongue and of the racial qualities of these groups;

3. The Franco-American Catholic Federation even maintains that the preservation of the mother tongue and of the racial qualities of these groups can be useful for their intellectual and moral culture and also for civic and economic values;

4. In consequence, the Franco-American Catholic Federation puts itself on record against all attempts to suppress or restrict the use or the teaching of languages other than English either in the home, in the school, or in the press;

5. The Franco-American Catholic Federation exhorts its members to employ all the legitimate means at their command to prevent the so-called Americanization plan from being diverted from its reasonable ends;

6. The Franco-American Catholic Federation suggests as practical means of action: (a) the use of the influence of

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Franco-American leaders and groups to persuade industrial and political leaders to support the principles above set forth, (b) to recommend to those of our compatriots who have not a sufficient knowledge of English to complete their knowledge of that language by attending special classes being organized for that purpose.

The congress further declared its attitude on citizenship:

1. The present congress of the Franco-American Catholic Federation, following the example of so many previous congresses, urgently recommends the organization of permanent committees on naturalization by all French-American societies which have not already organized these committees;

2. The Franco-American Catholic Federation urges all French-Americans who are citizens, either by birth or by naturalization, not to fail to register for voting and to exercise their franchise at each and every election.

This statement of position is illuminating as indicative of the attitude of one large and influential foreign-language group in New England. This attitude is typical of many of our foreign-born peoples, and from the position of the author of this study is natural and, as expressed, not antagonistic to sound Americanism. While desirous of meeting the reasonable standards of the land of their adoption, these groups wish to preserve in some degree their native language and national culture. They do not challenge the state for its insistence on English as the medium of instruction in the schools, but they protest against prohibition at the same time of the teaching of their mother tongue. The

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resolutions encourage naturalization and the exercise of the franchise.

We must be tolerant of the fact that these newer Americans cannot abandon at once the old ties of racial and national culture. Racial obliteration cannot take place in one generation; there are no instances in history of any such sudden transformation. Americans of many generations still take pride in their Scotch, Welsh, or English ancestry, and they are no less patriotic on that account. Robert Louis Stevenson, speaking of the attitude of the Scotch in his day toward England, says that the Scotchman even yet thinks with a Scotch accent.

VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

We may turn to current happenings in the state of New Hampshire to illustrate another phase of relation between the state and private education. Here conditions are apparently much happier than in Massachusetts. New Hampshire has had, for some years, a general regulative law relating to private education, but a much more definite act was passed by the legislature in 1919. There is no indication in this latest legislation as to which agency of the state shall have power of enforcement, and no penalty is fixed for non-compliance with the law. By implication it would seem to rest with the state authorities, since no other agent is mentioned, and since we may infer that the state is prepared to enforce, through its own machinery, laws set upon its

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statute books. In actual practice the authorities in charge of parochial schools are, by agreement, taking the initiative in seeing that the law is obeyed. The impetus for the law came from the state committee on Americanization, a widely representative body made up in part of leaders of labor and of religious bodies. The law was formulated after agreement of all those concerned.

The following letter, written by Rt. Rev. G. A. Guertin, Bishop of Manchester, New Hampshire, to all Catholic pastors in charge of parochial schools, gives evidence of the kind of co-operation which has been established:

The advent of peace, and the complete vindication of the fundamental principles for whose defense our beloved country entered the World War, are subjects for the expression of our fervent gratitude to the God of all justice to whom nations, not less than individuals, must render an account. Toward the attainment of this glorious achievement the faithful of our diocese have contributed an honorable share, a record of loyalty and generosity in which their zealous pastors may take a legitimate pride.

We are convinced that in all measures designed to perpetuate the blessings thus secured to our country, the same spirit of loyal co-operation will be ever manifest. To one of these measures we wish to direct your particular and prompt attention. The movement of Americanization, having for its object "to unite in a common citizenship under one flag all the peoples of America," is a movement to which every one who makes his home within the borders of the United States must subscribe. From the State House you have received a copy of the program of the New Hampshire Committee on Americanization, and for that document we bespeak your earnest and prayerful study. To bring about the desired union, the ability of all who dwell

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permanently within our state to speak a common language—English—is a necessary first step. To this end we would urge all pastors to encourage attendance at evening school by all parishioners who may be wanting in a knowledge of the English tongue.

The position of our parochial schools in this matter is clearly set forth in the correspondence between the Bishop of Manchester and the New Hampshire Committee on Americanization, through its chairman, Hon. Frank S. Streeter. Therein you will find the fourth fundamental principle of Americanization adopted at a meeting of the Governors and chairmen of committees on public safety, called by Secretary Lane and held in Washington on April 3, 1918, namely, "that in all schools where elementary subjects are taught, they should be taught in the English language only," clearly explained and interpreted by the New Hampshire Committee on Americanization and the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, approved by the bishop as explained and interpreted, and mutually agreed upon as a working basis for the application of said principle in all New Hampshire schools. This interpretation is as follows:

1. That in the instruction of children in all schools, including private schools, in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, physiology, history, civil government, music, and drawing, the English language shall be used exclusively, both for the purposes of instruction therein and for the purposes of general administration.

2. The exclusive use of English for purposes of instruction and administration is not intended to prohibit the conduct of devotional exercises in private schools in a language other than English.

3. A foreign language may be taught in elementary schools, provided the course of study (or its equivalent) outlined by the New Hampshire Department of Public Instruction in the common English branches—that is, in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, physiology, history, civil government, music, and drawing—be not abridged but taught in compliance with the laws of the state.

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These three articles as approved by us admit of no evasion or equivocation. They are intended to serve as the foundation of a working program for our schools, and their incorporation into that program demands the surrender of nothing that is vital to the well-being and progress of any Catholic school. Due provision is made for religious instruction and for the teaching of any language that may be desired in addition to the course of studies (or its equivalent) outlined by the New Hampshire Department of Public Instruction.

This program must be carried out in all the schools of our diocese, and we charge the conscience of pastors and all others having the care of schools to take whatever steps may be necessary to put it into execution as promptly as conditions will permit. A full measure of good will on your part, and reasonable time, will solve all problems of detail which may arise. In all such problems both pastors and teachers may look to the Rev. P. J. Scott, diocesan superintendent of schools, for sympathetic aid and direction. To him we have delegated full authority for the supervision of all schools within our diocese. He is hereby directed and empowered to make an immediate and complete survey of the school situation and, after full consultation with the reverend pastors and heads of schools, to formulate a universal course of studies to be followed by all primary schools under our jurisdiction. The important work thus confided to him, Father Scott takes up in obedience to authority and with the sole desire to promote the welfare of Church and state. To the end that such service may produce the beneficial results to which we all look forward, the diocesan superintendent of schools must be given by all with whom he is to labor, the attention and co-operation consonant with the responsibilities of his office.

Commenting on the letter above quoted, the Committee on Americanization of New Hampshire, which fathered the laws, makes the following statement:

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One of the most progressive and history-making documents of our day, looking to the carrying of the great lessons of the war into the days of peace, is the letter of instructions sent to all the priests of the diocese by Rt. Rev. George Albert Guertin, Roman Catholic bishop of Manchester, under date of November 15, 1918. Since July the Committee on Americanization has been in close relations with Bishop Guertin regarding the teaching of English in the parochial schools. The bishop's letter establishes for the parochial schools of the diocese a uniform course of studies patterned after the requirements of the State Department of Public Instruction, and based upon the interpretation of the fourth principle of Americanization adopted by the committee, the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the bishop, and mutually agreed upon as a working basis for the application of said principle in all New Hampshire schools.

An influential paper in the state makes the following comment upon Bishop Guertin's letter:

The first impression made by Bishop Guertin's letter to the priests of the diocese, relative to the new educational plan for the parochial schools, is that of its immense significance. Then certain questions arise: How is the plan going to work out? Does it take anything away from anybody? Does it relate to religion? Does it require that we become a people of only one speech? And all these and many more questions are answered by the history-making document.

In the first place, the Americanization program explicitly safeguards the religious beliefs and practices of those concerned. The working agreement contains a clause which provides that the exclusive use of English in instruction in the standardized course, and for administrative purposes, is not intended to prohibit the conduct of devotional exercises in a language other than English.

Nor is it intended—let us say, it is not desired—to discourage in any way the use of foreign tongues. The purpose is not to restrict Americans to one language; it is simply

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to make them all familiar with one language, that of our laws. We desire that all the others shall be preserved, and that their enriching influences may be exerted upon our society and our literature.

The educational plan takes nothing from anybody. It asks nobody to give up the language of his racial stock, or the literature that enshrines the ideas and ideals of his people. It gives, instead of taking. It adds a language to the mental equipment of those who are benefited by it, and takes none away. It will make no man smaller, narrower, less competent in any way, but will make broader and more competent, by adding a useful tool to the working outfit of many of our men.

Let us not go wrong in our thinking at this point. There is neither purpose nor desire to lose the foreign languages out of our American life. It is the purpose of the educational plan in which the diocese is co-operating to promote the essential union of Americans by enabling all of them to converse and do business together in one common language. Its purpose is to enrich as well as to unify American life, not to impoverish it.

As a further instance of the kind of co-operation which characterizes the whole procedure affecting parochial schools in New Hampshire, attention may be called to the fact that the officials representing the executive committee of the Committee on Americanization which was in charge of the formulation of the law, is composed of the following individuals: Frank S. Streeter, chairman of the Americanization Committee; Ernest W. Butterfield, state superintendent of public instruction; Rev. P. J. Scott, diocesan superintendent of parochial schools.

New Hampshire is apparently avoiding the rock upon which Massachusetts has split, by seeking co-operation as the means of putting

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into operation a law involving delicate adjustments. On the other hand, there will not be found wanting those who will object to the principle of co-operation followed by New Hampshire; these will take the position that a government gives up something of its dignity and authority when it negotiates and seems to temporize with particular groups or institutions within the state. Let us remember that the state itself is nothing but the whole group of all the individuals in the state, and that the collective opinion of these individuals is what gives sanction to the laws of the state and makes possible their enforcement. This is the democratic idea of the state as opposed to the order of those which we have challenged recently in the World War. Again, let us remember that nations have been judged to be democratic or not in proportion to the degree in which minorities have rights in them; again, that in dealing with private-school education we invariably touch closely upon religious and civil liberties. In these and like issues it is better not to be too insistent upon abstractions, such as the rights of the state dissociated from other rights. We should direct our energies to the securing of co-operation among all the groups which must be factors in the adjustments required for the welfare of the state.

The example of procedure set up by the state of New Hampshire may be commended for study to other states where conditions in any way analogous may be found.

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Certain conditions pertaining to private education in several Eastern states have been briefly described in the foregoing paragraphs. There may still remain confusion as to the exact relation between the parochial school and the immigrant. It is not to be assumed that only the children of the immigrant are to be found in parochial schools. On the contrary, children of several or many generations of American ancestry will be found in English-speaking parochial schools. As has been indicated before, little suspicion has been raised concerning the civic education of the children attending these schools. It is with regard to foreign-language or bilingual private schools that the question as to the civic education has been raised seriously in a number of states; and in these schools will be found largely children who are foreign born or native born of foreign parentage.

One danger of exempting the religious school from state approval lies in the fact that the anti-religious or revolutionary private school will claim a similar exception. The laws must deal impartially with all kinds of private education, whether benevolent or malevolent. We wish to guarantee through the agency of the school sound instruction in the civic responsibilities which all must bear, and we wish to guarantee the knowledge and use of a common tongue. No matter which type of school the child may attend, we wish to make sure that he will emerge a good citizen. These are the reasons why the states are beginning to feel that some regulations

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must be imposed on all agencies conducting educational work.

MIDDLE-WEST DEVELOPMENTS

It may be said that the situation respecting private education is distinctive in each state. A good deal of competent evidence has appeared during the past few years to show that certain private schools, especially in the Middle West, were quite exclusively nationalistic, fostering the purposes of a nationalism other than American. Even in public schools in certain sections of the West as well as the East the language of instruction was other than English.¹ The spirit of Americanism aroused by the war has caused a rapid change in the character of these schools. The chapter on laws will show the legislation which has effected these changes.

The situation in certain sections of the Middle West is of unusual interest and importance. Map 3 shows the distribution and proportion of parochial schools in the state of Wisconsin. What this state is contemplating in the way of legislation is set forth in Chapter IX.

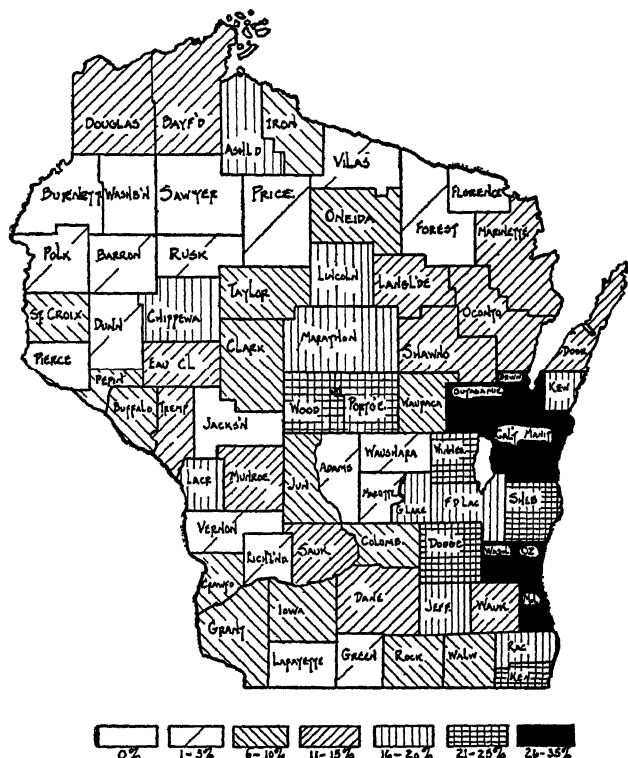
In the following states public interest has been indicated by surveys, legislative activity, and public discussion: Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Michigan. The foreign populations in these

¹ In Van Buren, Maine, the work of the public schools was until recently conducted in the French language; now it is carried on partly in French, partly in English. Geographically Van Buren is practically a Canadian town.

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sections are made up of Germans, Swedes, Poles, Dutch, Russians, French, Norwegians, and Bo-

MAP 3.—PER CENT OF CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN WISCONSIN BY COUNTIES, 1916-17¹



hemians. Particularly in rural sections where immigrants of one nationality have congregated

¹ This map was made in 1919 by B. W. Elsom, a student in the University of Wisconsin, as a part of his graduating thesis.

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ere appear to be areas where Americanism has made little progress even with the younger generation. Churches, business establishments, and schools use the European languages of the settlers. We have long been familiar with the "foreign" sections in our cities, the Little Italies, the Little Hungaries, and the ghettos. We had not suspected the existence of what might be termed foreign provinces, as in the group of states above mentioned. Bulletin No. 1 of the United States Bureau of Education (1918) says about South Dakota:

The assimilation process of the foreign elements in the population has been retarded because the foreign born gathered largely in settlements, some of them extending over several counties. Some counties—Hutchinson, for example—are largely peopled by German stock. In this county and in Hanson County the German-Russian Mennonites still live the quaint community life brought with them from Russia. German, not English, is the language of the villages, although in most of the schools English is the language of instruction.

The situation in Nebraska is described in a report of the Council of Defence.¹

Foreign-language schools are located in 59 counties of Nebraska. There is a total of 262 schools in which it is estimated that 10,000 children receive instruction in foreign languages, chiefly in German. In these 262 schools, 379 teachers are employed. Five thousand five hundred and fifty-four children are attending the schools of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. Of these 379 teachers in private schools, 2 give instruction in Danish, 6 in Polish, 14 in Swedish, and 357 in German. Less than 2 per cent of these teachers are certificated. About 120 of the German

¹ *Report of the Nebraska Council of Defense*, January 14, 1917.

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teachers are likewise ministers in the German Lutheran parish where the school is located. The county superintendents of the 59 counties in which the foreign-language schools are located reported that in only a few cases do these schools give the equivalent of the eighth-grade public schools. For the most part, the eight years' attendance in such schools fits the pupil for the sixth grade of the public schools.

In certain schools in Fillmore, Cass, Franklin, Gosper, Jefferson, Pawnee, and Wayne counties, the instruction is given entirely in the German language. In about 200 of the schools three hours daily is devoted to instruction in the German language.

In Deuel, Fillmore, and Jefferson counties, the superintendents report that the German national hymn is sung in certain foreign-language schools. The American national hymn is not sung in about 100 of the German-language schools. Over 100 foreign-language schools lack an American flag.

Public schools have been closed and forced out by German parochial schools in Cedar County, Cheyenne County, etc. In Nuckolls County one parochial school has been receiving state aid. In Clay County two German schools received pay for two months' salary from the public-school fund while the children of the public schools attended these German schools.

After this report was submitted December 18, 1917, the State Council of Defense of Nebraska passed the following resolution, which was sent to each county superintendent of schools:

WHEREAS, From investigations which have been conducted by the Nebraska State Council of Defense, it has become very apparent that the teaching of German in some of the private and denominational schools of the state has had an influence which is not conducive to a proper and full appreciation of American citizenship, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska State Council of Defense requests that no foreign language shall be taught in any of

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the private or denominational schools of Nebraska, and that all instruction, whether secular or religious, shall be given in the English language. And the council earnestly asks the cordial co-operation of all private and denominational school authorities of Nebraska in putting into effect this request; and we again urge that the public-school authorities see to it that no foreign language shall be taught in any of the grade schools of our state.

The legislation enacted in Nebraska during 1919 was designed to meet the condition brought to light during the war. One of the acts, known as the Burney law, provides that all private, denominational, and parochial schools in the state, and all teachers employed or giving instruction therein, shall be subject to and governed by the provisions of the general school laws of the state so far as these apply to grading and promotion of pupils and qualifications and certification of teachers. All private schools are required to have adequate equipment and supplies and shall have substantially the same courses of study as do the public schools. Another act, known as the Siman law, prohibits the teaching of any language other than English in grades below the high school; this prohibition applies to public and private schools alike. For further details, see Chapter IX, on laws.

The Bureau of Education bulletin quoted above makes this general statement of the situation in South Dakota:

A large portion of the school population attend German Catholic or German Lutheran parochial schools in which the German language has been used largely as the medium of instruction.

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South Dakota stopped this practice during the war by order of the State Council of Defense. It should be noted that, according to the census of 1910, South Dakota had a population which was 77 per cent foreign born, with Germans the dominant race and Scandinavians second in number.

Figures regarding private schools in Minnesota are as follows:

Number of parochial and private schools....	307
Number of pupils enrolled	33,853
Number of teachers	1,359
Number of schools using English alone ...	94

Of the 213 bilingual schools in this state, 195 use the English and German tongues, 10 use English and Polish, 4 English and French, 1 uses English and Bohemian, 1 English and Dutch, 1 English and Norwegian, 1 English and Danish.

These instances are fairly indicative of the situation in the group of states enumerated above. The problem is complexly grounded in the desires of people of foreign origin to conserve both religious belief and their folk heritage. The declared motive is largely that of religion, but religion and nationality are often so closely united that it is difficult to determine which of the two purposes is the stronger. So far as we may generalize about this relation, it may be said that the private school is unilingual and English, the motive is religious; where the private school is bilingual, the motive is nationalistic or racial fully as much as religious. We have bilingual schools in the East in the case of the

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French Canadians in New England. In the case of purely foreign-language schools there would seem to be no doubt that the predominant motive is nationalistic or racial. Public opinion as the result of the war has practically driven the foreign-language school out of the country. The chapter on recent legislation will furnish ample evidence of this fact. It is estimated that about fourteen states have prohibited the use or teaching of any foreign language in elementary schools. It would appear that there is a growing disposition in many states to prohibit the continuance of bilingual schools. The propriety of this action on the part of state authorities has been questioned from the general point of view presented in this volume, but the trend of public opinion seems to be in the direction indicated. The reason for the present drastic tendencies is clear enough; the natural reaction from the abuses which have been discovered is toward extremes of regulation.

CREDIT DUE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Let us be fair to the parochial school. In any assessment of the influence of these schools upon the citizenship of the country, great credit is rightly due to them. Particularly in the East, where parochial schools have been long established and the English language is the medium of instruction, there is little difference between their educational status and that of the public school. What parochial school of this

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latter character has not its service flag with it many stars, and among them gold stars! In every effort for the successful carrying on of the war these schools gave excellent co-operation. The records of the Junior Red Cross will show for them percentages of participation similar to those of the public schools; in Liberty loans in War-savings-stamp campaigns, in food conservation, and in the many other enterprises in which the government sought co-operation these schools maintained at private expense did their full share. We must respect the patriotism of the directors and pupils of these schools we must respect the religious convictions of those who maintain them and who desire to secure for their children the spiritual and other influences which the public schools cannot give. We must respect the spirit of sacrifice of those who bear the burden of double taxation to maintain schools which better carry out their beliefs and aspirations.

There is much to be said to the credit of the bilingual school for the cause of Americanization. The criticism has often justly been made of the public school that it effects a false Americanization by a too rapid process of change from old landmarks to new. The tragedy of the child of foreign parentage suddenly turning in contempt against the Old World speech and ways of his father and mother has been noted by many commentators. Acquiring the gloss and veneer or smartness of Americanism without an appreciation of its deeper meaning is not true

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Americanization. Americanization must be consistent with the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." The sudden breaking away from the old landmarks of race, religion, and custom has never resulted in good citizenship in the new relations.

The bilingual school in many instances has been the bridge in Americanization and made assimilation gradual and consequently sound. We are attempting no praise for the bilingual school that refuses to make concessions or, worse, which inculcates suspicion or distrust of American institutions. The bilingual school which instills the new allegiance without relinquishing old associations can be and usually is an effective institution for the development of citizenship. There is a danger, of course, that the bilingual school will preserve indefinitely something like a dual allegiance. That the bilingual school promises to do this thing is feared by many, but the complaint of the immigrant is that the children break away from traditions of the parents too fast, that they insist on becoming Americans too soon; foreign-born parents attest that their children prefer English to the native tongue in spite of all conserving influences.

In Europe the bilingual school has been accused of maintaining the dual relationship indefinitely. Let us remember, however, that this result has usually followed where the state has sought to obliterate the languages and customs of subject nationalities; where there has been no compulsion, assimilation has usually

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taken place. Wherever the nation has attempted to force conformity or assimilation, the coerced races have sullenly resisted and maintained a distinctive individuality: witness Poland under the triple yoke of Germany, Russia, and Austria. May we not take a leaf for ourselves out of Old World experiences?

EXTREMES OF OPINION

There seem to be three distinct positions on the question of the relation of the state to private education; the point of difference is as to the amount of authority which the state should have over private schools. The first position rests on the principle that education is exclusively a state function and may not properly be exercised by any other agent, such as private individuals, parent associations, or the church. Plans of action based on this conviction are to be found in recently proposed legislation for Nebraska which would abolish all private education, and in Iowa through language regulations. Similar action is proposed in the state of Michigan, where an amendment to the constitution is sought for completely abolishing parochial schools.¹

Opposed to this drastic position is the standpoint at the other extreme, that the state has no rights with respect to education. This seems to be the position maintained by a number of directors of private schools who object to any

¹ This petition failed in 1919, but is still being agitated.

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sort of supervision of their institutions on the part of public authorities. Up to the year 1919 few states have made provision for such inspection of private schools; few states have made requirements as to curriculums in private schools, and those that have set up such requirements in their statutes have not enforced them. Now that a policy of regulation or of supervision or inspection is being attempted, objections are beginning to appear. These objections are based on several reasons. First, the argument is advanced that education is not a state right, but some other sort of right, such as that of the parent, the church, or the society. Those who take this position usually admit that the state has the right to demand that all children receive an education, but not the right to specify as to the character or details of that education. Extreme instances of negation of the right of the state to regulate education are more easily found in Canada than in the United States. A condition of tension exists in Canada at the present moment over the question of the relation of the state to private education. In *Le Canada Français* for March, 1919, is found a vigorous challenge of the right of the state to exercise any influence over the education of its youth; the article, written by a judge of the superior court, concludes in translation:

The child is not a citizen, he is not the pupil of the state; he is, on the other hand, the object of solicitude of his father and mother. . . . When Solomon wished to discover the real mother, he made the test of feeling, and upon the

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cry of anguish the real mother was revealed. . . . Whose feelings are more concerned to-day, those of the legislators or those of the parents? Render then to the state that which is the state's, and to the father that which is the father's.

The significance of this opinion becomes important when one considers the large number of French Canadians resident in the United States and commonly educating their children in parochial schools. Some of the directors of these schools seem to hold the position indicated in the quotation above. This attitude was freely manifested in Massachusetts during the discussion of legislation (1919) relating to the inspection of parochial schools by public authorities. The example of the French Catholic bishop of Manchester, New Hampshire, described above, is of opposite tenor.

Another objection opposed to the right of the state to exercise influence upon private education has to do with method. The right of the public to demand guaranties as to the character of private schools is granted by these objectors; but they do not concede that the state should secure these guaranties through the usual executive machinery, such as the state board of education, or through the agency of the state commissioner of education. These objectors assert their satisfaction with a law which requires the public-school officials of local communities to approve or receive guaranties about private schools, but object to any granting of authority to state educational officials. Their opposition

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is expressed in the following resolution, adopted April 6, 1919, by the Federal Council of the Franco-American Catholic Federation at Worcester, Massachusetts:

The Franco-American Catholic Federation, Inc., is opposed in principle to the control by the state of either public or private schools, and trusts that the Committee on Education of the Massachusetts legislature, now conducting hearings on various educational bills reported by the Special Recess Commission, will recommend such amendments of these bills as to preclude any attempt at control by the state of either the public or private schools, especially with reference to present sections *d*, *e*, and *f*, of Senate Bill No. 354.

This resolution indicates a genuine fear of the exercise of arbitrary authority by state officials. This fear is particularly strong in Massachusetts and is shared not only by directors of private schools, but in part by those of public schools. New England has always been tenacious of the belief that the local community should be supreme in deciding educational policies. On the other hand, the history of the development of the public-school system of Massachusetts shows a continuous struggle between the local communities and the state. The state is usually in the position of requiring higher standards and the local community seeking exemption from larger appropriations for school purposes. The famous reports of Horace Mann contain evidence of the situation in the period of his activities. The disconcerting fact about the position of private-school directors concerning the influence

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of the public through some agency upon private-school status and standards is that the approved or tolerated theory of local public approval does not lead to enforcement. Local school authorities decline to become agents in enforcing state requirements. There is, consequently, no public influence, other than public opinion, exercised over private schools either by community or state officials, even in a state where statutes are found intended to establish such a control.

SUPERVISION, THE RIGHT OF THE STATE

The theory that the state has definite rights in the status and character of all educational institutions has been maintained consistently by the majority of citizens from the period of the Constitution. The right is implied in the Constitution of the United States. The right is specifically stated in the constitutions of most of the several states. The right has been upheld repeatedly in court decisions throughout the country. The right has seldom been gratuitously enforced in the case of private schools, but always has been defended when challenged.

What, then, are the rights that the state possesses in the conduct and character of private schools? There is a midway position between that taken by those who assign to the state all rights respecting the education of its youth, and that taken by those who deny the state any rights. This position is, indeed, not a compromise, half right and half wrong, but just and

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fair. This position is the only one that the author can assume is proper. Our position simply is this: The right of private education is recognized, but in the exercise of this right by individuals, religious bodies, or associations, the standards and the character of secular instruction must be equal to that maintained in public schools. The state has and should exercise the right to receive guaranties as to the scholastic character of all private education. In addition the state has the right to receive positive assurances as to the nature of the civic training given to all incipient citizens. On the other hand, the individual has the right to choose a non-public institution for the education of his children if he believes that he can secure superior advantages by so doing. The Constitution which gives rights to the state also gives rights to the individual. Our national traditions have made us sensitive to any laws or requirements which interfere or seem to interfere with religious convictions or the liberty of individuals. In the recent war we modified our military-service regulations in the case of conscientious objectors. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" has guaranties to individuals, to religious bodies, and to political associations that we hesitate to circumscribe except in cases of obvious abuse, or when the state is threatened.

WEIGHT OF AUTHORITY

There are not wanting authorities in charge of private—*i.e.*, parochial—schools who recognize

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the limited rights of the state with respect to nonpublic schools. Let us quote from an article from Bishop McDevitt of Harrisburg in the *Ecclesiastical Review* of April, 1919:

The policy that appears best under the circumstances is for our Catholic educators, empowered by the Hierarchy, to approach the Federal and state educational authorities and discuss frankly the standing of Catholic education before the law; to acquaint the civil authorities with the principles, the purposes, and the achievements of Catholic education; to assure those in power that Catholics are as anxious as they are to safeguard the child and provide him with the education that makes for good citizenship, and that Catholics, while believing in liberty of education, are as willing to conform to all reasonable demands which the state may make upon Catholic schools to insure the right education of children. Catholic educators should say, furthermore, that, knowing their rights as citizens, they will resist, with all proper means at their disposal, the attempts to destroy freedom of education or to cripple their educational system by laws that discriminate against Catholic schools which do not conform to an arbitrary and unnecessary standard of academic efficiency.

The state authorities, I half suspect, will be disposed to meet this approach to solve a delicate problem in an amicable way. Their willingness to do so will be the more prompt if they see that Catholics are not only prepared to recognize a reasonable supervision of Catholic schools by the state, but are determined to resist publicly, boldly, and defiantly every invasion of their inalienable right to liberty and freedom of education.

There are those who picture a situation where there will be but one system of schools, to which all the youth of the land may resort, forgetting their differences of race, religion, and economic condition. Viewed from the standpoint of citi-

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zenship alone, the proponents of such a plan set up an appealing case. It would seem fortunate to many if the civic relation which the child is to bear to his fellows would appear so fundamental that the school environment of the child could be controlled wholly from such an angle. But the child has in prospect various relations to society, and what may seem to one group to be the most important relation in life—namely, the civic relation—may not seem so to another group equally honest. To repeat, to the group which holds the civic relation which the child is to bear to his fellows as most important and other relations unimportant, the common or public school for all children seems most fitting. To another group the most important relation for the child is the religious one, and this group naturally wishes the child to come under influences best calculated to develop the qualities deemed essential for the religious relation: in like manner will be the reasoning and conclusions of those who make the group wishing to retain racial heritages. Democracy means freedom of action of groups as long as their convictions do not interfere with the well-being of the state. Democracy means sensitiveness particularly with respect to religious convictions, and where religious convictions mean the maintenance of religious schools we cannot unnecessarily restrict these schools without restricting religious freedom. We are beginning to place restrictions upon racial schools, as is shown by the example of numerous states legislating against the teaching

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of foreign languages. This has been done under the theory that here the wishes of a group threaten the welfare of the state.

THE CHALLENGE FOR UNITY

We have widespread fundamental divisive influences in our society. Instead of ignoring them or denying them as we customarily do, it would be better to face them fearlessly to see what should be done for the common good of all, and yet with justice to the convictions and instincts of the groups concerned. The differences of race, religion, and economic circumstance that exist in our country are as great as in the older countries whence we came. We are one of the most heterogeneous countries in the world. We have the warning of what has happened so frequently in the heterogeneous countries of the Old World. We place our trust in the form of government which we have builded with so many pains. We have the hope that, in spite of differences of race, faith, and economic condition, all men may unite on common ground—namely, the relation of citizenship—and unite for the common welfare. We must allow freedom for the other relations which the individual will bear toward his fellows. It is too much to expect that we can affect presently or in the discernible future a national homogeneity. We must attempt the possible—namely, a certain degree of unity in our heterogeneity.

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This unity must be an appreciation of the duties of the common citizenship which all share. While our citizens will differ profoundly in many ways, there should be certain common elements such as love of country, adherence to our institutions, and devotion to the principle of democracy.

All our schools, public and private, should emphasize these elements of unity while teaching respect for the differences of race and religion which characterize our population. Men may well differ about matters of policy, for differences may bring out the truth; but democracy looks not too secure when there appears a Protestant party or a Catholic party, or when we must reckon with the Jewish vote or the German vote. Any school, public or private, that fails to instruct children concerning the common basis on which all Americans should unite—namely, that of citizenship—deserves the concern of the state and the state may properly make requirements to see that such an omission is corrected.

V

METHODS OF TEACHING ENGLISH

ALTHOUGH the pupils to be taught are men and women experienced in the ways of the world, varying in degree of education and in their needs for re-education, nevertheless with a few striking exceptions no adequate course of study or syllabus has been worked out for the guidance of teachers of English to foreign-speaking pupils. Instructors have generally been left to their own devices, with the injunction to teach English and maintain classes of a satisfactory size. Presenting a multitude of difficulties not found in the teaching of English-speaking pupils, the teaching of English to immigrants has generally been delegated to underpaid teachers, untrained for the work, some of whom have not an adequate conception of how to begin, what they are trying to accomplish, nor how to know whether they have succeeded. Important as we now recognize the subject of the Americanization of immigrants to be, in most school systems it is not recognized as sufficiently so to cause the appointment of a supervisor charged with the duty of improving the service. Where such assignments have been made, they have been by way of additions to the burdens already borne

METHODS OF TEACHING ENGLISH

by superintendents and directors, and even then the duties have been largely administrative rather than pedagogic. Out of the 177 school systems reporting in a questionnaire sent to superintendents, supervising principals, and teachers of non-English-speaking students that they provide classes for the teaching of English to immigrants, only twenty have supervision by a director or supervisor especially assigned to this work.

The schools in which English is taught to adult immigrants are constructed to meet the needs of children during the day. So little thought has been given to the subject of equipment for adults going to school at night, that the question, "What special equipment, if any, have you for foreign adult classes?" was interpreted as follows by the teachers and officials who made the replies: 40 made no answer at all; 28 reported no special equipment; 10 evidently misunderstood the question, some of them referring to teachers and to their own education and experience; 27 referred to the usual schoolroom equipment; many referred to textbooks, pamphlets, and charts. It is interesting to note that the very thought of specialized equipment, such as rooms, furniture, lavatories, did not enter the minds of these people who are teaching adults.

EXCHANGE OF THOUGHT, THE AIM

In the schools as organized the absence of pedagogic theory pertaining to the teaching of

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English to immigrants has helped to retain and to repeat practices which have outlived their usefulness. Particularly is this true where guidance in the selection of content and methods is lacking because of an uncertain aim: teachers of children, unless otherwise directed, tend to carry over the pedagogic theory of this work to the teaching of adults; lay teachers tend to reproduce vaguely remembered snatches of their own school days. Rarely is the mental status of the adult immigrant taken into account in planning instruction for him; only rarely have teachers of English to foreign-born adults been conscious of a definite aim or goal of instruction in English related to the special needs of the pupils. When pressed for a description of the goal they sought, teachers have generally ascribed such remote purposes as the following to their teaching: "to Americanize the foreigner"; "to teach him to read the newspaper"; "to teach him to read English literature"; "to teach him to become an American citizen"; "to teach him to understand America"; "to train him in civics"; "to teach him correct pronunciation."

The usual aims and values ascribed to content and procedure in teaching children lack validity for the immigrant learning English. He does not usually desire a knowledge of English for cultural purposes, or to be disciplined in thinking or to have his memory trained; he is skeptical of future returns to be acquired by present efforts. His needs are present and urgent; he

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is impatient to use what he learns to-day and to meet future needs as they arise. Needless to say, his point of view is sound. The immigrant who finds the instruction in English worth while to-day because he can apply it at once outside of the classroom is more likely to return to-morrow because a new problem has presented itself. In brief, the point of departure in teaching English to immigrants cannot be certain conventional aims and values vested in the subject matter called "English" or in processes of teaching, but must be found in the pupils themselves. Since they are free to come if they like or to go if they choose, the question as to what is worth while is of greater importance in such instruction than it is with children who are compelled by law to attend for fixed periods, or with high-school or college students who voluntarily enter upon courses of instruction to continue for fixed periods.

In considering the question, "What is worth while?" for immigrants learning English, it is well to bear in mind the twofold purpose of teaching a language in general—namely, to communicate thoughts, and to acquire the thoughts of others. An insight into the point of view of the foreign-born pupils may be obtained by imagining an American in Russia or in Greece laboring under the same difficulties as those under which immigrants labor in America, and handicapped by a similar lack of knowledge of the language of the country. Such an American evidently would wish primarily to learn as much of the language of the country as would enable

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him to make his way, to understand the natives, to be understood by them, and only secondarily to read their literature, their constitutions, and accounts of their political procedure. In other words, he would desire a knowledge of the language to communicate his thoughts rather than to read the thoughts of others; and if he analyzed his own state of mind and were not numbed into acquiescence by the authority of his teacher, he would realize that he needed to talk in Russian not in such terms as he would use in speaking to his English-speaking friends in Russia, but in such Russian sentences and on such topics as would enable him to get along with Russians who spoke no English; any old Russian words would not do, least of all archaic, pedantic, or technical locutions. Moreover, trained language teachers believe that speaking is the psychological basis for the teaching of a language and precedes reading and writing—*i.e.*, that visual symbols must be presented in association with auditory symbols acquired in oral language. The immigrant in our schools demands that he be taught to communicate in English with English-speaking people because this is his most vital need, and as a basis for the later understanding of the printed and written thoughts of others.

EMPHASIZE SPEAKING AND READING

This definition of purpose reduced to school-room practice is quite generally accepted by teachers of adult immigrants. Leaving out of consideration the problem of teaching English-

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speaking adults, teachers are agreed that the three school exercises, speaking, reading, writing, in the order named, are relatively important in the teaching of English and relatively worth while to the non-English-speaking pupil. To the immigrant learning a second language to be used as a medium of communication and not for the sake of the training to be derived from the process of learning, spoken language is more vital than printed or written, and a reading knowledge of the language is more likely to be used than is the ability to write it. It need hardly be pointed out that this principle ought not to exclude the teaching of reading and writing from the very beginning as a means of forming multiple associations with language forms to be used in speaking. On the contrary, the three kinds of exercises are intimately related, but the relative stress in the selection of subject matter and in the time to be given to each exercise may be determined by the application of the principle. To the question put to those in charge of schools making provision for teaching English to immigrants, "Do you emphasize speaking, reading, or writing English in teaching foreign pupils?" the following answers were received: forty-two emphasize speaking; three emphasize reading; thirty-five reported emphasis on all, without indication as to whether one is emphasized more than another; forty-two merely answered "yes."

The order of emphasis in the use of the three kinds of exercises in these schools is reported as follows:

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ORDER OF EMPHASIS	NUMBER REPORTING
Reading, speaking, writing.....	3
Reading, speaking	8
Reading	1
Speaking, writing, reading.....	5
Speaking, reading.	8
Speaking, reading, writing.....	37

In practice, however, this conception of the relative value of exercises is not carried out as consistently as it is accepted in theory. The sample time programs submitted indicate that in beginning classes more time is given to reading and writing than is consistent with assigning first place to oral expression. To illustrate, a school where English is taught two hours a night for three nights a week submits the following typical program:

Reading	40 min.
Copying. .. .	15 "
Dictation....	20 "
Phonics.....	10 "
Spelling.	10 "
Civics (reading text).....	20 "
Conversation ...	15 "

The only direct provision for exercises in oral English is in the conversation period of fifteen minutes, while reading and writing take up a disproportionate amount of time. On the other hand, the following program stresses oral English rather than the less usable exercises:

Greetings	10 min.
Oral development of topic or theme.....	30 "
Copying of theme... ..	10 "
Oral development of reading lesson.....	15 "
Phonics.....	5 "
Reading.	25 "
Two-minute oral drill.....	2 "
Oral summary and closing salutations.....	13 "

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Just as the ulterior ends conceived in the general problem of teaching English must be reduced to immediate ends of teaching speaking, reading, and writing, so these objectives must be further analyzed for classroom purposes into a number of specific school exercises.

SUBJECT MATTER FROM LIFE

The closer the relation between the content and method of instruction in English and the lives of the pupils the more effective the instruction will be in satisfying the needs of the present, and therefore the more attractive to adult learners. The teaching of English to foreign born is a comparatively new field, free from precedents and unencumbered by pedagogical practices based on a discredited faculty psychology; the opportunity therefore presents itself of selecting the content of instruction for its real and present value to the learner rather than for some supposititious and remote value. In most schools it is more than an opportunity; it is a necessity pointed to by the withdrawal of pupils whose needs for communication in English are present and urgent. What these needs are can only be set forth in a general way, for only the teacher who is informed and interested in the well-being of the immigrant can through the experience of specific situations determine what special interests are pressing for expression in English. A Mexican illiterate woman working on a farm and an intelligent Russian working in a mine require different beginnings in English. The teacher can make

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a proper beginning only by taking into account such factors as the immigrant's literacy in his own language, present occupation, sex, age, and opportunity for speaking English.

DEVELOP A SPEAKING VOCABULARY

Within broad limits, but not necessarily in the order given, the following topics for English conversation, for developing vocabulary, and for teaching English locutions are drawn upon by teachers:

1. The pupil's relationship with those with whom he comes in contact; statements of name, address, occupation; forms of greeting, salutations, farewells, inquiries; matters of personal situation and condition, respecting himself and those in whom he is most interested—*e.g.*, age, weight, illness, good health, pain, hunger, thirst.

2. Schoolroom activities and objects and the corresponding descriptive words and phrases, expressions of action—standing, walking, reading, writing, speaking, opening, closing, coming, going.

3. Daily outside-of-school needs: buying, selling, repairing, cooking, eating, looking for work, working, riding, walking, together with counting, weighing, measuring, visiting, enjoyments, use of leisure time and holidays, recreations.

4. Vocational terms: occupations, technical expressions.

5. The house and the family: renting, furnishing, cleaning, and beautifying the home; members of the family and their relationships.

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6. The community: the pupil's relationship to the school, the church, the lodge, the trade or labor organization; the newspaper, the theater, the post office, and the local agencies for promoting his well-being and security—*e.g.*, police, sanitation, licenses, and local ordinances.

7. Local and national holidays; national ideals as exemplified in the lives of great Americans.

8. Formal civics: the relation of city, state, nation, other nations.

It is not sufficient to adapt the content of instruction in English to the interests of the pupils. It must be borne in mind that this content must be useful and necessary to the immigrant in communicating with English-speaking people and not merely in communicating with people who speak his own language. Thus a lesson which teaches a foreign-born woman an English lullaby to croon to her baby is of greater interest to the teacher than it is of value to the pupil. The occasional use of English by immigrants among themselves should not be set up as a valid factor in determining content of conversational instruction. The foreign born in his group makes little application of such instruction; he relapses into his native tongue at the first opportunity. When they speak English to one another, immigrants do it for the effect on English-speaking people. There is justification for the use of anecdotes and mottoes in English lessons for the foreign born; but only in exceptional cases does any reason exist for instructing

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foreign born in the use of English through English literature, and on the whole teachers of immigrants have resisted this temptation.

LIMITED NEED FOR WRITING

In the teaching of writing in English, the distinction is made between writing as an end and writing as a means. Under the latter head belong all formal exercises in copying, dictation, filling ellipses, paraphrasing, and summarizing which are necessary for drill. Under composition as an end are included such exercises as pupils write for the purpose of communicating their thoughts to others—*i.e.*, with a motive for writing and with an audience in mind.

It is obvious that the great mass of immigrants have even less need for writing in English than have native Americans; in teaching them English there cannot be even the pretense that they are to become men of letters and that they must be taught the four forms of discourse, narration, description, exposition, and argumentation—not to mention poetic diction. It is also an error to assume that these mature men and women, foreign born though they be, lack fairly well-defined purposes in undertaking an adventure into English. Whether consciously expressed or not, their purposes should be met. Most effectively have immigrants resented instruction unrelated to their needs by refusing to continue it. The foreign born learning English undoubtedly must know how to write their

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names and addresses, and how to fill in blank spaces in such commonly used instruments as checks, receipts, and applications for postal and express money orders and the like, but what beyond these elementary exercises is worth teaching is not a settled matter. Teachers, therefore, are inclined to emphasize writing on topics which adult foreign born cannot be expected to write upon in the life outside of school and to neglect such kinds of writing as they are more likely to use. Themes relatively remote from the more pressing needs of immigrants are exemplified by composition topics such as these, submitted by teachers: a trip to the museum; how to make a buttonhole; calling on the telephone; interesting places to visit; pure food; the life of George Washington; how a United States Senator is elected. No objection is made to these as topics for conversation or even for reading, but the likelihood that an immigrant learning English will desire to write on these subjects is extremely remote.

An experiment to determine what foreign-born adult pupils wanted to be able to write was conducted in a city school attended largely by factory employees, mechanics, laborers, peddlers, and small business people. The teachers were instructed to request pupils to try to write in English something which the latter actually wanted to be able to write. Both pupils and teachers were informed what the object of the experiment was.

More than four hundred papers were sub-

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mitted and classified as to subject matter. Although all these pupils had been writing compositions of the essay type for periods varying from six months to six years, in this test they all wrote letters—letters of inquiry, of complaint, of excuse; letters offering to sell or buy; letters requesting samples, letters ordering goods and canceling orders. Ninety per cent of the letters were such as laborers, peddlers, and small business men would be expected to write; the remaining 10 per cent were purely personal letters written by the more advanced pupils. These results, especially the relatively small number of personal letters, were disconcerting to the teachers who had emphasized “composition” writing of the expository and narrative type, and who in exercises in letters had assigned subjects such as “letters to your father telling him how you like America.”

Inquiry among the pupils, however, elicited the information that if they wished to write to their families or to their friends they would naturally use their native languages and not English, and hence they saw no reason for learning to write in English a letter “to my father in Russia.” A seeming exception is the recent experience of teachers with illiterate immigrants whose soldier sons had grown up in America, and had learned to write English in the public schools. In many cases the children were able to speak the native language of the parents, but unable to write it, and in other cases the parents spoke English but were unable to write

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it. An urgent need, therefore, arose for the parents to learn to write English in order to be able to communicate with their English-speaking children. Here it would seem as if writing in English had been desired by foreign-born persons in order to be able to communicate with relatives; but it must be remembered that these relatives were people who could understand only English. To summarize, immigrants find it worth while learning to write in English to English-speaking people, not to people with whom their communication would more naturally be in the native tongue.

SPELL FEW WORDS WELL

Intimately related to instruction in writing English is instruction in spelling. Our vocabularies are not one general list of words which serve our purposes in communicating orally and by written symbols as well as in understanding others orally and through written symbols. As a matter of fact, the vocabularies of literate persons consist of four more or less distinct groups of words making up our speaking, writing, understanding, and reading vocabularies. In short, there are kinds and degrees of acquaintanceship with words as with friends. Some words are known to us only as we hear them spoken by other persons. Others are recognized in our reading, but are strangers to our speaking and writing vocabularies. Finally, there are a few choice words with which we are so familiar that

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we use them with confidence to convey our thoughts to others. Among the latter are the words we use in writing.

Since ability to spell is of value only in writing and since immigrants have a limited need for writing in English, it is apparent that our pupils need be taught the spelling of a relatively small number of words and that these words must be selected from the probable writing of the pupil rather than from his reading or understanding. Interesting studies have revealed that reading and speaking vocabularies are not affected by learning the spelling of words, nor does one necessarily know how to spell the words of the speaking or understanding vocabulary. The chief value of spelling ability as well as its final test is the use to which spelling is put in written communication.

Spelling lists selected from the reading and speaking vocabularies of pupils are not only likely to be too large, but also, on the one hand, to stress words which pupils will hardly use in their writing, and on the other to neglect words which they will probably use. At present the most reliable lists of spelling words for our pupils may be made by the teacher from the words that the learners use in their written discourse; this may perhaps be supplemented by such combined lists of words as those of Ayres¹ or Chancellor.² While these lists are not con-

¹ *Measurement of Ability in Spelling*, L. P. Ayres (Russell Sage Foundation, 1915)

² *Journal of Education*, vol. 71, 1910, p. 488, etc.

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structed for this purpose they would prove useful and suggestive to the teacher.

PHONICS OVEREMPHASIZED

An extraordinary difference of opinion among teachers as to the value of phonics in English instruction for adults results in a wide diversity in practice. This difference of opinion is illustrated by the following typical answers from superintendents to the question, "What use do you make of phonics?":

- I. A minimum use, and that the practical. The chronic difficulties of national enunciation and pronunciation and peculiarities of the English vernacular; phonetic grouping of words already mastered.

Just enough to get the pupils to pronounce the words distinctly.

Moderate use. Very much less time than with children.

We have lists of phonics for drill to correct certain faults peculiar to some races. We recommend the use of such only in special cases, and devote little time to phonics in classes of beginners. Intermediate and advanced pupils receive drill.

Some of the "family groups" are useful in teaching spelling, but the use of phonics as a corrective agent is a waste of good time.

- II. Pupils are drilled until they understand thoroughly the phonetics and then applied on selected words for pronunciation.

A constant use of phonetics. Many learn their *a b c*'s in this class.

Very prominent with all beginners.

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As much as possible.

It is used in spelling and in early reading to secure articulation.

Very similar to that of the primary classes in day school, except that progress of foreign adults is much more rapid than that of children.

It is evident that "phonics" as understood by teachers includes a variety of exercises having a number of different purposes, among which the more important are the following: (1) to aid in the teaching of spelling by giving a knowledge of the sounds of letters and by calling attention to the common elements of words; (2) to aid in the teaching of reading by furnishing a phonetic key to the recognition of new words; (3) to train the ear of the pupil in noting nice distinctions in sounds; (4) to correct errors in pronunciation, enunciation, accent, and tone.

As an aid to the teaching of spelling, phonic exercises are of undoubted value provided they are not carried too far. Two considerations as to the use of phonic exercises must be borne in mind: first, comparatively few words are needed by immigrants in their writing vocabularies; second, in English the syllable rather than the letter is the basis for spelling. Phonic exercises on abstract vocal values of the sounds of letters tend only to confuse the beginner and to convince him that he cannot master the intricacies of English.

As one would expect, the learner's pronunciation and accent almost unfailingly disclose foreign

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birth. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that teachers seek to eradicate this defect by persistent and long-drawn-out lessons to train their pupils to hear and to pronounce English sounds as Americans pronounce them. Both from the daily programs of lessons submitted and from the emphasis in the flood of recent literature on teaching English to foreign born, one must gather the impression that the correction of foreignisms in pronunciation is of supreme importance. Especially is this true of schools and teachers who are inexperienced in the teaching of English to immigrants and who are perhaps obsessed by the importance of nice distinctions in sounds as a result of elaborate college courses in phonetics. Such teachers fail to realize the difference between teaching children whose main business is to prepare for life and teaching adults whose main business is to make a living.

Very frequently foreign-born children, after many years of hearing English spoken correctly, during which their habits of sound production are being formed by constant drill and correction, still reveal their foreign birth by their accent, enunciation, or tone. Thus children of Russian parentage, educated in the public schools and in American colleges, frequently fail to pass tests for teaching positions in New York because of their inability to pronounce correctly such words as "English," "finger," "younger," "singing," "anchor." Time and ingenuity devoted to the eradication of foreignisms in the pronunciation of children is eminently worth while and the effort

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should be increased rather than diminished. For with children the school has a reasonable expectation of continuous effort over a number of years in providing that repetition with attention at ever-lengthening intervals which makes for habit; while the pupils are in that plastic stage in which it is possible to slough off old habits of pronunciation and to acquire new ones.

Very different is the case of teaching English to adults of foreign birth. Their attendance at school is usually voluntary, uncertain, and dependent entirely on their judgment of the worth of the instruction. They regard drill in correct pronunciation as a proper refinement of teachers who are jealous for the purity of English sounds, a thing of little practical though of great ornamental value. Their point of view in this respect may be summed up in the statement of one of them, "In my factory they don't care if you say 'Go away' or 'Go away,' provided you don't cuss." Were it possible to keep the adult pupil in school for a long enough time to affect his habits of articulation, his enunciation and tone, and were he to consider such a result worth while, it is still questionable whether the desired end could be accomplished with pupils who are past adolescence and whose speech habits are fixed.

Common experience tells us that even exceptionally well educated persons who learned to speak English after adolescence are only in rare instances without foreign accent. Besides possessing a knowledge of the science of phonetics,

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foreign-born professors of modern languages have a stronger incentive than other immigrants to speak English without an accent; but after adolescence the time for building those delicate habits of adjusting mouth parts for the production of pure sounds in a new language is past for professor as it is for laborer.

Although purity of English accent is an impossible goal for adult immigrants to attain, it is desirable that some attention be paid to corrective phonetics for two purposes. The first is to point out distinctions in the meanings of words; this is a practical consideration even for those who are least impressed with the importance of phonic exercises. Pupils can be held to a measure of effort in learning correct pronunciations by being shown that mispronunciation results in misunderstanding, as in the following sentences:

I slip (*sleep*) on the floor.
The tin (*thin*) soldier.
The color of pitch (*peach*).
The bad room (*bedroom*).
You gas (*guess*) too much.
Calm (*come*) down.

The second purpose is to present an ideal of good English pronunciation, which is worth while even though correctness remain but an unattainable ideal. If illustrations of this kind can be taken from class conversation the point can be made more strikingly. In the most progressive schools, however, teachers spend comparatively

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little time in correcting errors in pronunciation and only a few minutes in focalizing on correctness.

PROVIDE INTERESTING READING

During the earliest stages of English instruction pupils find the themes developed on the black-board, in leaflets, or in textbooks sufficiently interesting as topics both in oral drill and in reading. Soon, however, they outgrow such mechanical exercises and desire to read—*i.e.*, to get an author's thoughts. Twenty years ago the pedagogy of reading failed to stress the importance of a content on a level with the pupil's thinking. It is not so long ago that even the intelligence of children was discounted by reading material as puerile as:

I see the boy.

Do you see the boy?

He is a good boy.

In the earliest development of work with non-English-speaking adults, teachers were impressed by a seeming analogy between the adult immigrant with his small English reading vocabulary and the English-speaking child with his small reading vocabulary. It is not surprising, therefore, that many teachers report using children's primers as reading matter for adults, especially as suitable texts, presenting subject matter of interest to adults by means of a simple vocabulary and sentence structure, have but recently appeared. Guided perhaps more by a sense of humor than by a principle of method, teachers have gradually excluded primers with their

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ridiculous, "I am a little buttercup," from the reading material of husky Poles and Swedes. Unfortunately, however, many texts especially written for adults still contain reading matter appealing only to the intelligence of children.

In selecting the subject matter of English lessons, whether the object be to teach speaking or writing, the same principle holds true—that the more nearly the content of instruction coincides with the realities of the pupil's ordinary experience, the better adapted it is to his needs; obversely, the more remote such content is from the direct and present interests of the pupil, the more academic and futile it becomes.

The principle is partially applied in organizing the curriculum for children because their present interests are ephemeral and their future activities problematical; it must be applied rigidly in selecting content for the teaching of adults because the latter have undoubted life interests and pressing present needs. Such subjects as the following, taken from textbooks for adults, are so remote from the immediate interests of adults learning to read English that they have no place in a proper program: the fable of the lion and the mouse; the English colonies; a ride in the park; success; "The Village Blacksmith." Adult immigrants learning to read English are more likely to require ability to read a bill of fare, one of the many signs they see, an application blank, a time-table, a street-car advertisement, or newspaper headings.

It need hardly be pointed out that the content

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of reading lessons should not be limited to the examples given, but that it should rather conform to the reading which adult pupils would select for themselves without the teacher's influence. With such an approach to their task can teachers best fulfill their twofold function, the one phase growing out of the other; first, that of satisfying present needs, interests, and desires; second, that of stimulating new interests.

VARIETY OF TEACHING METHODS

During the past few years there have appeared a host of ready-made, all-inclusive methods of teaching language, based usually on some single trick or device which characterized the method and gave it a name, such as the so-called peripatetic method, the visual-instruction method, the dramatic method, the textbook method, the factory method. The discussion of method which is to follow will be limited to the methods employed in teaching English to beginners—to those who speak or who understand English so imperfectly that they cannot understand English-speaking people or be understood by them when English is the means of communication.

Whether literate or not, such pupils possess a language system of their own which, within the limits of their experience, they are able to use; they are not like children who know but little language and who must therefore be taught verbal expression in association with new objects or experiences as they arise. Our pupils have had children's as well as adults' experiences,

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so that psychologically the problem of learning English consists for them in associating new symbols, new words, and new sentence structures with old experiences for which they already possess more or less adequate symbols.

The method employed in teaching such pupils to associate English symbols with objects, ideas, or experiences may involve the use of a textbook, so that it may be called a textbook method. Most American teachers are inclined to follow texts not only in teaching English to adults, but in the teaching of all other subjects. But it cannot be said that in all cases they use a textbook method; the term is too inclusive and of little value in indicating the nature of the procedure. For the same reason such other terms as "dramatic," "oral," "conversational," "visual instruction," and "objective" are inadequate to characterize methods. Teachers do not employ one of these so-called methods to the exclusion of all others; they combine some and perhaps all, so that it is possible to find an "oral-conversational-dramatic-objective" method, or a "text-book-leaflet-conversational-objective" method, and these in all possible variations. Teachers with good sense have been quick to realize that "methods" cannot be mutually exclusive, and that a well-rounded method of teaching makes use of a great many different devices.

However, there are certain fundamental distinctions as to types of procedure. A logical differentiation of methods is possible on the basis of the language used in teaching. On this

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basis, methods may be characterized as either direct or indirect: direct methods use the new language to be taught both as end and as means—*i.e.*, teachers applying the direct method speak only English in teaching English to pupils; indirect methods make use of the pupil's vernacular in teaching a second language—*e.g.*, the teacher using the indirect method explains English words by translating them into Italian.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT METHODS

The methods are called direct and indirect from the kind of association processes involved. Thus, in teaching a Pole the meaning of the word "door," a teacher who uses the direct method leads the pupil to associate the word "door" directly with the object "door," suppressing as far as possible connection with the word for "door" in Polish. A teacher using the indirect method emphasizes the association of the English word "door" with the corresponding Polish word, and thus indirectly helps to associate the word "door" with the object "door."

An indirect method requires a triple association of idea, native expression, English expression. In recalling the meaning of an English expression the pupil must retrace the ground over which he has traveled in learning, and his recall is therefore guided by the "cues" or associations through which he learned the word. These cues will be, first, the native expressions, and, second, the objects or ideas. The interposition of the native expression between the English expression

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and the object or idea acts as a retardant in the process of acquiring ability to use English as a means of communication, and results in the hesitation so often noted in the speech of those who learn a language by the indirect method. By the direct method, the process of association is short-routed so that only the essential elements (ideas and their English verbal expressions) are brought to focus and thereafter repeated until they are firmly welded in immediate association.

Aside from psychological considerations, the difficulty of securing competent teachers who speak English in addition to one or more of the great number of other languages and dialects spoken by foreign-born pupils has undoubtedly tended to make the direct method the prevailing procedure. Out of 185 answers to the question, "Do teachers use the foreign language of the pupils when teaching them English?" there were 169 replies indicating that no foreign language was used. Sixteen teachers or officers admitted using a foreign language, adding, however, a number of qualifying statements and explanations, such as, "In unusual cases one pupil interprets for another"; "When necessary"; "Only as a last resort."

It is hardly necessary to say that a knowledge of the pupil's vernacular is decidedly helpful in organizing classes, in establishing those human contacts without which successful teaching is difficult, and in making for that sympathetic mutual understanding so desirable in English instruction to immigrants. However valuable

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it may be to employ teachers competent to use the native languages of the pupils, the fact remains that only comparatively few teachers are so qualified. Thus only 35 out of 184 answers to the question, "Do teachers understand the language of their pupils?" are in the affirmative. Experience with such teachers, moreover, seems to indicate that they find it difficult to restrain a natural tendency to overcome every apparent difficulty by resorting to translation. Under such instruction the pupil is likely to hear more of the foreign language spoken than English, and to receive less opportunity to use English than to use his own language.

The terms "direct" and "indirect" serve to mark off fundamental differences in the teaching of languages; but within each of these categories other bases of classification may be found. The most inclusive principle for the further logical differentiation of beginning methods is that of standpoint in organizing the content of instruction. On this basis the various methods, whether direct or indirect, may be classified as synthetic, analytic, analytic-synthetic. A method which purposes to "build" language by the process of accretion, beginning with the elements of language, such as letters of the alphabet, syllables, words, or isolated sentences, is called a synthetic method. A method which proceeds by presenting to the pupil connected sentences which it then analyzes until it reaches the elements of the language is called an analytic method. A method which employs the elements

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so obtained to build other language forms is called analytic-synthetic.

FALLACY OF SYNTHETIC METHODS

All synthetic methods of teaching English are based on the logic of the subject matter rather than on the psychology of learning, and serve to illustrate what Professor Sweet calls the "arithmetical" fallacy in language instruction—*i.e.*, they show that in language the sum of all the parts does not equal the whole. Untrained teachers seek to justify the use of purely synthetic methods by quoting the much misunderstood pedagogic maxim, "From the simple to the complex." They fail, however, to realize that anything is "simple" which is meaningful, interesting, useful; that the expression, "How do you do?" though apparently complex, is, because of its human interest, much simpler to the learner than any single word in the sentence. Language, being an organism rather than a machine, grows and develops in use rather than by being pieced together like the parts of an engine. Factory methods of quantity production in turning out parts to be fitted into a complex whole cannot be applied in teaching English.

Although purely synthetic methods are rarely used by teachers (such methods are reported in the inquiry for this Study, in 19 instances as against 903 instances representing all others), the occasional rediscovery and use of

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them makes it necessary to describe the most common varieties.

I. A unique attempt to standardize instruction in English by making the alphabet the unit of advance is found in the method leaflet prepared by the department of employment welfare of the Bethlehem Steel Company. The four-page leaflet is entitled *A Vocabulary for Non-English-speaking Beginners in English*, "to be built up from the alphabet by teacher and pupils through an interpreter." Two pages are devoted to a vocabulary of single words, one page describes the "objective-interpreter" method, and one page the general method, from which the following sentences are quoted:

The alphabet is the basis of the English language, and should be used in forming the words of the beginner's vocabulary. A thorough drill should be given to the sounding of the letters *a, e, i, o, u, v*, and *y*, and the division clearly shown between vowel and consonant letters. The order of work in building up a simple usable vocabulary should be nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, etc.

Write the alphabet on the blackboard—both capital and small letters. Explain to the pupils through the interpreter, that, as the alphabet is the basis of the language, they must learn it first in order to build up words for their vocabulary. Give a twenty-minute drill on sounding and learning the form of the letters. Have individual pupils point out the letters and sound them. Group the letters as to form, such as loop letters *b, f, h, j, k, l, y*, etc. Use other methods to fix the form and sound of the letter in the mind of the pupil.

Build up words for the vocabulary through the objective method, beginning with the thing the pupil is most interested in himself. Explain through the interpreter that they

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must name the object pointed to in their own language first, then give them the name of the object in English. The teacher points to a pupil's ear, the class sounds the name of the object in their own language, the teacher sounds it in English, pupils repeat it after him until well sounded. Teacher and pupils then build the word from the alphabet by the following method: The teacher points to the letter *e* in the alphabet; the pupils sound it. The teacher brings down the letter *e* on the blackboard; the pupils again sound it. Use the same method with *a* and *r* until the word "ear" is built up. Build up "eye," "nose," "hair," "face," etc.

Drill and review are very essential in this work. When the pupils have acquired a vocabulary of fifty nouns, pronouns and adjectives may then be introduced—using them in connection with nouns already taught. Later on introduce verbs, then adverbs—using them in connection with nouns and pronouns already taught to form complete sentences.

Attention should be called to the fact that this leaflet was published as recently as 1918. Apart from such cocksure misstatements as, "The alphabet is the basis of the English language," the author seems to be blithely unconscious of the fact that children and adults learn to speak a language without knowing a single letter, that the name of a letter is a faint cue to its sound, that the sounds of the letters do not make up the sound of the word—to use his own illustrations, "ear," "eye," "face"—and that if the learners of English in his factory were compelled to wade through a study of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, until they reached the ninth part of speech it is unlikely that they would survive the process.

II. From the false analogy between language

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and a machine we derive the metaphor "to build a vocabulary." It is common knowledge that pupils may understand the meanings of isolated words and yet be unable to use them in discourse. One may even know all the words in the "vocabulary" placed at the head of each lesson in most modern language texts and yet be unable to utter a thought with these words. In reciting the story of his experience in trying to acquire a language by learning its words, Gouin says:

I shall be refused credence by him who, keeping faith in the classical methods, has studied only Greek and Latin (I shall not say learnt), and in whom faith in the dictionary is anchored by ten, twenty, or thirty years. He will never believe that, knowing thoroughly the elements of a language from first to last, I should not know thoroughly the language itself, at least sufficiently to understand it spoken or written. I certainly would not have believed it myself if I had not gone through the whole experience; and nevertheless, I repeat, I did not understand a word, not a single word.

Many crude attempts have been made to codify English words which an immigrant must know. It would be desirable to have a minimum list of words, scientifically determined and possessing sufficient flexibility to be relevant to men and women living under the many different conditions found in our country, as a basis for a curriculum, but not as the curriculum itself. At present no such list exists.

Where single words are the unit of instruction, the prevailing method of teaching is that used

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by teachers of French, German, Spanish, and Italian in explaining the meaning of nouns. The teacher points to the object and says, "This is a hat"; "this is a coat." After presenting a number of objects the teacher reviews the words taught by using the formula, "What is this?" and the pupils reply, "This is a hat." The procedure has some justification in teaching a highly inflected language like French or German, where the teacher's problem is to fix in the pupil's minds the form of the article denoting gender and case. The teacher of French repeats, "Qu'est-ce que c'est?" because the pupil must be drilled to repeat, "C'est *la* bouche," and, "C'est *le* nez." The teacher of German asks, "Was ist das?" because the pupil must be taught to say, "Das ist *der* Kopf, *die* Nase, *das* Auge."

In teaching English, however, with its undifferentiating articles and its uninflected nouns, this procedure is meaningless and wasteful. The method does not serve the purpose for which teachers of other modern languages use it, nor does it serve the purpose of fixing the meanings of the words intended to be taught. As a result of the frequent repetition of "this is," "that is," "there are," "those are," the pupil does indeed learn to speak these comparatively unimportant phrases, but he does not learn the meanings of the nouns which follow except by accident; he rarely retains them because he cannot use them except in a formal way in answer to such a question as the teacher has asked. The failure to impress the word through a variety of asso-

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ciations in use makes it difficult for the pupil even to remember its meaning, to say nothing of using it in an original way to convey a meaning.

The synthetic process, using isolated words as the unit of advance, is not generally employed by trained teachers to-day except as an occasional device to make the meaning of a new term clear by objectifying it. The difference between building up a vocabulary for future use by the "this is," "that is" process and teaching the meaning of a word by associating it with an object implies distinction between a method and a device. For service as a method—*i.e.*, in building a vocabulary—it is useless; as a device for clarifying meanings it is valuable. The best way to teach the meaning of the word "ceiling" is to point to it and not to talk about it; but to continue the process by naming the objects in the classroom, the parts of the body, the occupations of the pupils, is a method for building a catalogue rather than a vocabulary.

III. The content of instruction in grammar has recently undergone shrinkage as a result of a clearer definition of its purpose and value in helping the pupil to speak, read, and write English. In teaching English to English-speaking pupils, grammar is taught for some of the following reasons: first, to facilitate understanding of difficult passages by determination of syntactical relationships; second, to establish principles for the resolution of a doubt when habits of expression fail to settle it—*e.g.*, whether to say, "I knew it to be she" or "I knew

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it to be her"; third, to impart scientific knowledge of the tools of language; fourth, to furnish a medium for elementary logical training. No illusions are entertained that grammar helps toward an understanding of meanings which are not otherwise understandable, or that grammar helps the pupil except in rare instances to use English more effectively as a medium of communication. Teachers rely rather on habit-forming exercises than on formal conjugations and declensions to impress correct English idiom on their pupils.

Educated non-English-speaking adults, however, frequently desire instruction in English grammar because they know that in other European languages correctness of expression depends largely on a knowledge of grammatical inflections. Teachers therefore have sought to satisfy this natural craving for correctness by organizing their instruction on a grammatical instead of on a psychological basis, without realizing that in comparison with other languages English is a grammarless tongue. This accounts for the dispute as to whether English instruction should begin with nouns or verbs; it results in teaching principal parts of verbs to pupils who cannot use any one part in sentences, and in the teaching method of exhausting the possibilities of a verb by conjugating it in all persons and numbers. The fundamental error in all such instruction is that the teacher is thinking of the subject matter and not of the pupil and of the latter's needs in expression. Certainly at the beginning

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little is to be gained by spending time on conjugations. The knowledge so acquired is useless for some time to come; the pupils cannot go into the street or into a shop and say, "I see, thou seest, he sees," and when the time comes to use a pronoun he finds it embedded in a series into which he must dig before he can produce the correct one. However, after the learner has habituated himself to use correct forms, it is desirable to present a schematic outline of the difficulties which he has mastered. Except for such appreciation of grammatical relations, it is doubtful whether grammar functions in the familiarization of foreign-born pupils with English speech.

ANALYTIC METHODS SOUND

Analytic processes of teaching are based on the psychological principle that the mind works "from the undefined whole to the parts, back to the defined whole"; that our first perceptions take in vague entities which are later split up into elements as we find them of value. Modern methods of teaching children to read apply the principle by beginning with a story, then teaching the recognition of entire sentences, then of phrases, and finally of single words and phonograms. The letters of the alphabet are not usually taught until children are able to recognize at sight a great many whole sentences, single words, and phonograms.

The principle first received emphasis in the teaching of language through François Gouin's

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psychological analysis of his efforts in mastering a modern language so as to be able to use it in talking. Gouin's labors led him to believe, first, that the ear, not the eye, is the instrument of learning to speak a language; second, that an understanding of isolated words, even of all the words in the dictionary, does not insure an understanding of, much less an ability to use, spoken words; third, that to insure such ability a larger unit than the word must be found, and that it may be found in connected series of sentences from which words are analyzed; fourth, that the meaning of an expression must be made clear to the learner by associating the sentence with the idea represented; and, hence, fifth, that understanding of oral symbols is the basis for reading or writing, and must precede them, both to insure direct association and to prevent confusion in pronunciation.

APPLICATION BY GOUIN

On the basis of these sound pedagogic principles Gouin elaborated a method in which the theme or topic is the unit of instruction and the meaning of single words is made clear inductively by the context and by a variety of uses to which the words are put in sentences. In Gouin's procedure, "a theme is a general end accomplished by a series of related acts." For example, the teacher conceives a general end, as: going to the door; getting up in the morning; taking a bath; eating breakfast; washing the dishes;

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going to work; coming to school; looking for a job; taking money to the bank.

The teacher's first problem is to select a suitable theme. This selection is guided by two considerations: first, the content of the theme must be of value to the pupils; for example, to lumbermen the theme "sewing on a button" will not be as useful as it will be to tailors; second, the English sentence structure and the vocabulary must be that of daily life and not of the classroom. This is perhaps of even greater importance than the information contained in the content, because the worth of the lesson must be judged by the knowledge of English imparted rather than by the information presented about objects and processes. Sentences, phrases, and words must therefore be such as the learner may put to use in communicating his ideas in the life beyond the school. As will appear later, the difficulty of constructing such sentences in the theme is a serious limitation to its use as a complete method.

The next problem for the teacher is to organize a series of sentences which shall describe the accomplishing of the general end conceived in the theme. Thus the teacher develops the theme "getting up in the morning":

I open my eyes at six o'clock.	<i>open</i>
I push back the covers.	<i>push</i>
I jump out of bed.	<i>jump</i>
I stretch out my arms.	<i>stretch</i>
I wash myself.	<i>wash</i>
I dry myself with a towel.	<i>dry</i>
I dress myself.	<i>dress</i>

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The sentences of a theme must not only be related to the theme subject—*i.e.*, conform to the principle of unity—but must be coherently related, growing out of one another and bearing to one another some such relationship as that of sequence in time, cause and effect, etc. Gouin insists that the words “and then” are understood after each sentence. This principle of coherence is an essential element in the method and is psychologically sound. Connected sentences are more easily remembered than disconnected sentences or words because, first, they have meaning; and second, each sentence is in a setting and helps to recall every other sentence with which association by contiguity has been established, just as one line of poetry helps to recall a contiguous line. The sentences are short and simple, so that only one idea is presented at a time. Thus, the meaning of the sentence, “I push back the covers,” may be demonstrated by action; the pupil can associate with the act only the one meaning expressed in the sentence. Were the sentence complex or compound, a wrong meaning might be got out of the dramatization.

Gouin sets up the verb for emphasis by repeating it in the column at the right in his theme examples, because “the verb is the living center around which, in the phrase, gravitate all nouns, whether subject or complement, with all their train of prepositions and adjectives.” To put it simply, the verb is emphasized because the meaning of a sentence expressing action may be made

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clear by performing the action. The other elements of the sentence are then pointed out by later analysis.

The procedure for developing the theme includes eight processes:

1. The teacher performs the act and speaks the sentence—*e.g.*, "I open my eyes." The first appeal is therefore through the ear, and the association established is directly between expression and idea.

2. The pupils perform the act and speak the sentence. This supplies a supplementary association between the idea and the spoken words of the pupil.

3. The teacher performs the act, speaks the sentence, and writes or prints the words on the board. Some teachers permit pupils to read these sentences as developed in a text. This gives another form of association—*i.e.*, idea, spoken words, written words.

4. The pupils perform the act, speak the sentence, read it from the board—again a triple association.

5. The pupils copy the sentence.

6. Pupils write the sentence from dictation

7. The pupils write the sentence from memory.

8. The teacher approves the efforts of the pupil at all stages by encouraging him in such words as "Good," "That's right," "Try again," "I like that." Such expressions Gouin calls "subjective language." The purpose of subjective language is to speed the pupil on and at the same time to teach him the meanings of expres-

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sions which cannot be objectified and dramatized. The complete development of a theme usually takes three or four lessons.

DANGER OF DOGMA IN METHODS

The Gouin theme method is valuable in so far as it is based on sound principles, and no farther. It is not a universal formula for the teaching of language, and when used without an understanding of the truths on which it is grounded it becomes even more mechanical and formal than other less attractive methods. By way of summary, it may be said that the Gouin method is sound when it insists, first, that language is best taught through a content couched in unified, coherent, serial language; second, that sentences of this content must be understandable for the pupil by direct association through objectification or dramatization; third, that sentences must be short to prevent confusion; fourth, that themes must be short to facilitate memorizing.

The Gouin method of theme construction has been widely used and generally adapted to meet special requirements. Such adaptations have usually been rebaptized, so that, unfortunately, to people unfamiliar with the basic Gouin method each adaptation becomes a new discovery. The most widely known of such adaptations are the lesson leaflets published by the Association Press, the leaflets published by the Ford Motor Company, and the recent bulletin, *Teaching English to Non-English-speaking Selectives*, issued by the office of the Provost-Marshal General.

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On the whole, these themes are constructed in the light of sound principles of method. But the same fatal tendency to apotheosize the form and to lose sight of the reason back of the form is evident in all of them. For example, in the Ford leaflet series, *English for Ford Men*, Lesson No. 1, "Looking for Work," is drawn up as follows:

works.... John works for the Ford Motor Co.
asks..... He asks Mike, "Would you like to
work for Ford?"
says..... Mike says, "Yes, can you get me a
job?"
answers... "I will try," answers his friend.
asks.... John asks the boss of his depart-
ment:
give..... "Can you give my friend a job?"
asks.... The foreman asks, "Is he a good
man?"
answers... John answers, "Yes, he is a good
worker."
think..... "I think I can use him," says the
boss.
writes... .. He writes a note and says:
give..... "Give this to your friend and tell
him
come..... To come to the employment office
to-morrow."
goes..... Mike goes the next day to the Ford
works.
shows.. He shows the note to the watchman.
leads... .. The watchman leads him to the em-
ployment office.
takes off... Mike takes off his hat and sits down.
comes..... The employment officer comes to
him.
shows..... Mike shows him the note from the
boss.

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It is apparent that no good pedagogic reason exists for such an arrangement of sentences, and it can only give an inexperienced teacher the belief that somehow this artificial formulation makes instruction in English easy. These sentences cannot be dramatized; if they can be understood without dramatization there is no need for the form of a theme. The setting off of the verbs at the left, the chopping up of an otherwise perfectly good paragraph, are hocus-pocus. The sentences are not coherent; a pupil who forgets what the second sentence is, is not helped to remember it by going back to the first sentence.

Experience in using the Gouin method has demonstrated that it is extremely valuable with beginners when teachers and pupils cannot understand one another in English. The method then serves as a means of communication between the pupils who understand no English and the teacher who does not understand the language of the pupils. The universal language of action, made effective by the mimetic powers of the teachers, is a temporary substitute for verbal expression and a means of teaching new language forms by association. Very shortly, however, when pupils are able to speak a little English, the need for objectifying becomes less urgent and pupils make themselves understood in the little English at their command. English is now used to give greater command of English, and objectifying is resorted to only on occasions when the pupil's command of English is inadequate. The highly

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artificial theme form, the short staccato sentences, and the unvaried sentence structure give the pupil a perverted notion of the English language. But beyond all this, the fact that the theme structure does not lend itself readily to the introduction of conversational expressions while still preserving the advantages of the theme idea, makes it necessary to discard the formal arrangement of sentences in series just as soon as the theme has served the purpose of helping the pupil to understand simple English and to use it. No advantage is gained by sticking to the form, by writing paragraphs as if they were stanzas, by placing a word at the right of each line, by incorporating in the theme sentences which are not serially connected and which cannot be made clear by connecting them with ideas presented by demonstration.

An illustration of a persistent orthodox adherence to the theme form is furnished by the otherwise excellent themes in *Teaching English to Non-English-speaking Selectives*. Lesson 46 is entitled "The Family."

children... He has a wife and three children.

boy—girlHe has two boys and one girl.

father—mother....I have a father and a mother.

sister—brother . . . I have a sister and a brother.

relatives I have other relatives.

*babies.....*The Germans have killed many
mothers and babies.

slaughter.....The Germans have slaughtered
many children.

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- butcher*.....The Germans have butchered
many old men and women.
- broken*.....The Germans have broken their
promises.
- barbarians*.....The Germans have been like the
old barbarians.
- fight*.....I am going to fight the Germans.
- protect*.....I shall fight them to protect my
family.
- England*..If they beat England they would
come here.
- beat*.....We must beat them.
- victory*.....We shall gain victory.

The very fact that this theme form is found as late as Lesson 46 is an indication that the spirit of the theme has departed, and "only the letter liveth." By the time the learner has had a dozen themes he will have acquired the ability to understand simple English and to speak many sentences. He will by this time recognize the artificiality of the instruction he is receiving and wonder where the English which is taught in school is spoken. It is not uncommon for teachers to use the theme form with advanced pupils as well as with beginners. The writer was present in one such school when a rather intelligent Bohemian, speaking English fairly well, was assigned to an advanced class. Ten minutes after entering the room the man returned to say that he was going home. When pressed for a reason, he said: "This is the third school where I have tried to learn English. They all say 'I go to the door,' and I'm going."

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The theme method lends itself admirably to giving the pupil a body of language for future use. In its method of development it is analytic, proceeding from the larger to the smaller, from the theme topic to the sentences, and from these to the words; through each theme the pupil has learned to speak a number of connected sentences, to understand the meanings of these sentences, and to understand a great many words. Moreover, he has learned all this by associating the language forms directly with the ideas represented.

ANALYTIC-SYNTHETIC METHODS

If the teachers stopped there they would not have helped the pupils to use words in sentences, and sentences to express larger thoughts; hence the necessity for supplementing the pure theme method by a process which shall go on from where the theme leaves off, for following the analytic process by a synthetic process.

Realizing the necessity of breaking up the concatenation of sentences in the theme into the various permutations and combinations of words and sentences which make up our daily speech, Professor Walter has invented a technique, the so-called "Frankfort variation," which derives its name from the city in which it was first used. In this method the teacher, after he has developed a number of themes, directs the pupils to make sentences about things seen rather than about things done. Thus the pupils describe the acts of another person rather than their own, as when they say:

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You are walking into the room.

You are sitting down.

You are taking a book.

You are opening a book.

You are reading.

You are closing the book.

The possibilities for changing person, number, and gender, and in English particularly for teaching the progressive form of the verb, have made this addition to the pure Gouin method valuable. The variation is possible, however, only after the pupils have learned the sentences of a number of themes, and is applicable only to sentences learned through the theme.

A type of analytic-synthetic method very much used where a socialized atmosphere prevails in classes, is the method of dramatizing life situations. The chief purpose of the method is to bring some phases of the pupil's outside-of-school life into the schoolroom, thus providing a content which centers in the pupil rather than in the teacher. As a by-product of directly relating the lesson to the everyday home, industrial, recreational, and intellectual interests of the pupil, there results, first, a more thoroughly motivated lesson than is possible with subject matter carefully graded with respect to language difficulties, and, second, a means for fixing the comparatively few idiomatic conversational expressions required by anyone in talking with English-speaking people.

After exercise with a number of themes, when the pupils are beginning to try to talk, the teacher

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suggests that two pupils dramatize the buying of a hat, or finding one's way, or asking for a position. The pupils may have read lessons in the textbook on these very topics and they may have had themes on them; nevertheless, experience has shown that rarely will they be able to conduct a conversation of four or five sentences in idiomatic English without direct training in conducting such conversations. To the teacher the pupils' attempts at original oral composition are extremely valuable, indicating the kind of lesson as well as the nature of the subject matter needed. Thus the teacher suggests that "hello" is not the proper expression to use in addressing a clerk in a store, nor is the retort, "What you want?" proper from the clerk. The class is called upon to offer suggestions. A fairly well advanced class, such as would profit by a lesson of this kind, would probably be able to offer a great many suggestions picked up in the shop or on the street, some of them of doubtful value. The teacher selects only a few good expressions, places them on the board, and instructs the pupils to copy the expression which they like best.

PRINCIPLES, NOT PRESCRIPTIONS

Teachers of English to the foreign born are beginning to resent the question, "What method do you use?" It is a healthy sign that the pedagogy of the subject is outgrowing its infant stages with their attendant illnesses. In the beginning the methods of teaching were regarded as sets of

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mutually exclusive, sometimes violently contradictory, prescriptions; each method was taken on the faith of the founder and followed ritualistically in all its tricks and devices—the more occult these were, the better, for only the esoteric few were supposed to be competent to understand the philosophy of the method. Teachers to-day no longer hold the view that a single kind of procedure can accomplish the many purposes for which adults undergo hardships in learning our language; rather, they are guided in the selection of their methods by the conviction that these are unequal tools, to be used as occasion demands, and to be laid aside for other tools when necessity demands. Competent teachers to-day realize the necessity of knowing not one, but all methods, and especially the principles on which methods are based. Of these principles the following are generally accepted:

1. That language to be taught for the purpose of communication must be taught by a method which emphasizes communication—*i.e.*, method must be direct rather than indirect. Whatever else translation methods of teaching English accomplish, they do not enable the learner to talk.

2. That oral language is relatively more important than written or printed, and is the basis for work in reading, as both reading and speaking are the bases for work in writing.

3. That the standard for judging the worth of a lesson in English is the use to which the instruction may be put by the pupil to-day rather than to-morrow. Language forms, vocabularies,

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exercises, and reading material are relatively worth while, as they approximate the standard of usability.

4. That training toward ability to use a language implies exercise in the forms actually to be used, and not exercise in some other forms.

5. That power to use a language grows by healthy exercise in communication and is not built up by assembling letters, by building vocabularies, or by conjugating verbs.

6. That the process of teaching requires a continuing adjustment of the teacher's method to meet constantly changing conditions, and that it is most unwise to rely on any single procedure, most of all on such as are advertised as all-inclusive.

7. That however the content of instruction may be specialized in factory classes as opposed to schools, there is no special method of teaching English in factories any more than there is a special method of teaching it in churches, in settlements, in lodges, in the country, or in the city.

8. That it is just as important for teachers of factory classes to be trained for their task of teaching English as it is for school-teachers. It is unreasonable to expect that foremen and superintendents will be able to teach English after five lessons in any method, no matter how clever they are. The wide advertising given to short courses qualifying inexperienced persons to teach English has tended to discredit the teaching of English and to put it on a low plane.

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9. That the work of teaching English to foreign born requires a training specialized, intensive, and sufficiently broad to call for the highest professional skill, and in order that the teaching be kept at its maximum efficiency it must be supervised by specialists in the work.

10. That, finally, the responsibility for providing opportunities to learn English, as the first step in the process of Americanization, rests not on him who is to be Americanized, but rather on American society. We want our immigrants to learn our language; we want them to be Americans. The method of shifting the burden to the foreign born has failed. We can no longer rest content with opening schools and then counting the number who avail themselves of our generosity. The quantitative standard, the interest in "How many are you teaching?" must give place to the qualitative standard, to the interest in "What and how are you teaching?" We must bring home to our new Americans the possibilities of learning the language of America. But we must not stop with getting them into the schools; we must not cool their ardor and dull their zeal with our own ineptitude. The school in many cases is the first American institution which touches the lives of our citizens-to-be. For them the school typifies America. Let their experience be such that the school claiming their first allegiance may be the means of extending the spirit of loyalty until our new Americans appreciate all that our flag symbolizes.

VI

MEASURING PROGRESS IN ENGLISH

EFFICIENCY, important as it is in educational work with children, has far greater significance in the teaching of English to foreign born. For the degree of their Americanization and their comprehension of American ideals and customs is often directly related to their command of the English language.

In the day school much of the recent progress has been the direct result of the application of measurement and scientific methods of investigation to educational problems. The teaching methods of the evening school do not differ radically from those of the day school, and the teaching staff is often drawn largely from the day-school personnel; it is probable, therefore, that a similar application of measurement to the problems of the evening school would do much to increase its effectiveness.

This chapter will report the results of an attempt to apply measurements to the work of teaching English to immigrants.¹ This depar-

¹ This phase of the study has been made possible through the cooperation of Mr. Morris E. Siegel, assistant director in charge of evening schools, New York City; Mr. M. J. Downey, director in charge of evening schools, Boston; and Prof. William A. McCall,

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ture, however, was in no sense a survey, and is not to be taken as such. Those responsible for evening-school classes are often keenly conscious of the limitations and restrictions under which their work is carried on. If conditions were favorable, they could and would be glad to remedy many of the defects. The purpose of this chapter is not criticism, but illustration of the ways in which measurements may be used to secure information essential to the intelligent prosecution and control of evening-school work.

SCOPE AND AIM OF TESTS

In order to make certain that no unfair inferences should be made from the results, it was decided to prepare a series of lessons based closely on the regular work of the New York City classes in English for foreign born, but differing in content; the tests used were then derived directly from the lessons. Thus neither the tests nor the lessons measure the regular work. They do illustrate, however, certain principles of test construction, and the way in which tests are used. Finally, to illustrate the experimental method of determining questions of policy, arrangements were made with the instructor in educational measurements, Teachers College, Columbia University. Mention should also be made of the principals, teachers, and students of the classes tested, and of those who took part in the giving of the tests, the observation of the teaching, the scoring of the papers, and the tabulation of the results. The writer is also under special obligations to Mr. John B. Schamus, supervisor of classes in English for foreign born, New York City, who gave lavishly of his time and skill in the preparation of the tests and lessons, and in the supervision of the teaching; without his counsel and assistance very little could have been accomplished.

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made for a control experiment to measure the effect of supervision. After the experiment in New York was well under way, it was decided to repeat parts of it in the Boston evening-school classes, but under slightly changed conditions. The study as a whole, therefore, illustrates a wide range of applications of the science of measurement to educational work.

The phases of work selected for measurement were oral and silent reading, English composition, spelling, and ability to carry on a conversation with a stranger. Tabulations of the results will be found in the Appendix. Since the lesson material had no permanent value, only rough measurements and standardization were attempted. There was no time for the repeated trials and experimental modification essential to the production of true standard tests; on the other hand, the tests actually used should have a suggestive value, as showing the type of work in test construction which is easily within the reach of any school system or teacher.

By far the most important problem in connection with any educational endeavor is the adjustment of work to individual differences in ability. A concrete illustration of such adjustment is the problem of grading. For example, an immigrant entering an evening school is ready to be assigned to a class. If he can neither write, read, nor speak English, the problem is simple; he is sent to a beginner's class. If, however, as is often the case, he has already some command of one or more phases of work in English, the

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problem becomes complex. In most schools at present the assignments to grades are made on the basis of the principal's or teacher's estimate of ability after a brief and superficial examination. Accordingly, the first questions the present inquiry attempted to answer were, "Is the present grading of pupils efficient—that is, does it operate to produce groups of pupils fairly homogeneous with respect to ability? If not, what are the effects of poor grading, and can measurement be used to improve the situation?"

STANDARDS FOR GRADING PUPILS

A comparison of the results by grades shows that in all the abilities measured by the tests there is improvement in *grade averages* from grade to grade (Table IX¹ and Diagram 6); that is, the tests measure abilities which are being changed by class work, so that it becomes possible to define ability in terms of grade standards. Thus (Table X)² an immigrant entering the New York evening schools in March, and measured by the tests used in this investigation, should be assigned to a first-year class in reading if in the silent-reading test he answers less than six questions in two minutes, and if his accuracy for the whole test is less than 68 per cent. For these are the scores halfway between the average scores of the first and second years, and form the demarcation line between the two grades. Similarly, a new pupil would be assigned to a

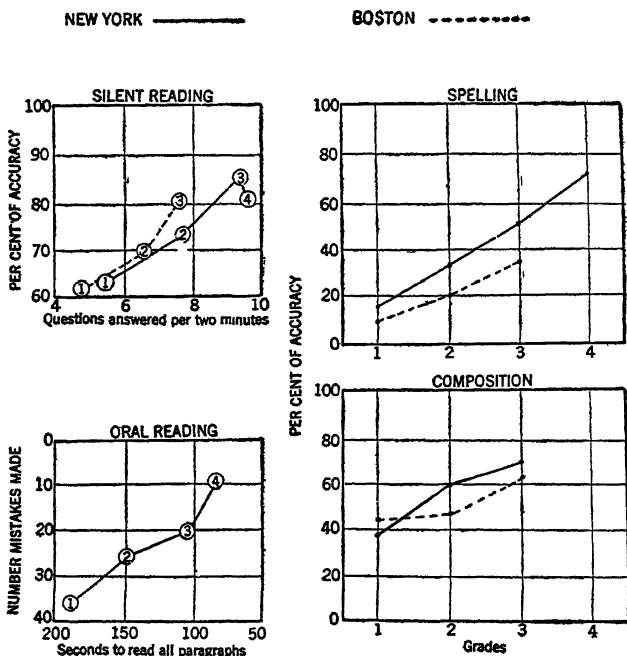
¹ Appendix, p. 391.

² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

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second-year class in spelling if his score in the spelling tests fell between 24 per cent and 42 per cent, and to a third-year class in composition if his score fell above 64 per cent. These

DIAGRAM 6.—STANDARD SCORES BY GRADES, IN TESTS OF IMMIGRANT CLASSES IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON



scores may seem low, but it should be remembered that the tests were constructed for testing both second-year and third-year classes on a uniform basis.

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It is probable also that in addition to the tests in specific academic work there should be a measurement of general mentality. Tests of this character suitable for foreign born illiterate in their own languages will soon be available, and should contribute much to facilitate assignment of new pupils to classes where the work will be within their grasp and of immediate value to them. In other words, the grading of pupils can be easily and quickly accomplished by means of standard tests.

DEFECTS IN PRESENT GRADING

Two important questions will at once arise in the mind of the reader: (1) How far do the average scores for a grade represent real grade standards—that is, to what extent do all second or intermediate-grade classes make the same scores? and (2) In terms of such grade standards, what is the range of ability in classes at present?

The answer to the first of these questions is indicated in Table X. For instance, it will be seen that the score midway between the average scores of first-year and second-year classes in New York in rate of reading is 6.5, and the score midway between the average scores of the second-year and third-year classes is 8.5. All classes whose scores in rate of reading fall between 6.5 and 8.5 may properly be rated as second-year classes in ability. Of ten second-year classes in New York City, four fell within the grade limits

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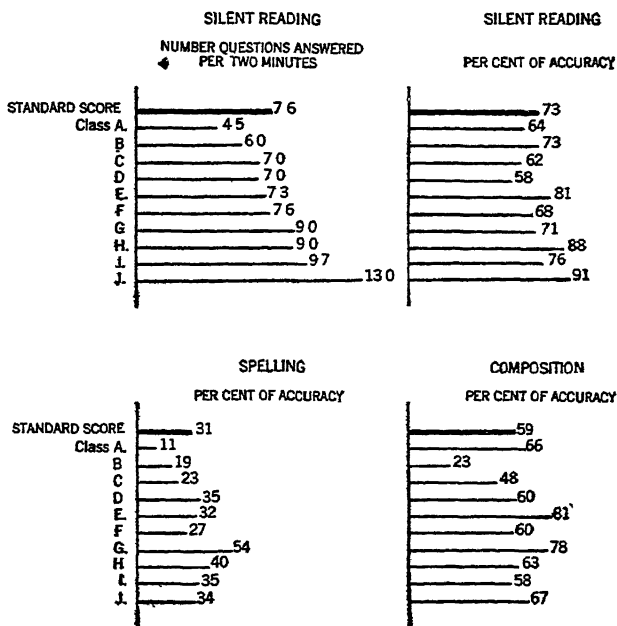
in rate of reading, four in quality of reading, six in spelling, and five in composition. For ten intermediate classes in Boston, the corresponding figures were: rate of reading, three; quality of reading, three; spelling, four; and composition, three. These results show that different second-year classes vary widely in ability from school to school in both cities. Similar results could be shown with other tests and for other grades. At present, therefore, a given grade in an evening school does not stand for a definite level of ability (Diagram 7).

Objective measurement serves also to reveal deviations from grade standards. Thus in Table X, Class *G* of the New York group is shown to score well above the second-year limits in most subjects, while Class *B* of the Boston group falls below the second-year limits. The significance of such facts from the point of view of supervisory control should need no comment; but in view of the many misunderstandings which have arisen in regard to measurement, it is necessary to point out that while tests reveal conditions they do not in any way show causes. Thus, on the basis of the results tabulated for these two classes, it would be wrong to make the inference that the teacher of Class *G* is a teacher of exceptional ability, and that the teacher of Class *B* is correspondingly poor. The facts in the case may be just the opposite. The scores are merely a result, and at best can do no more than indicate what the pupils did with the tests under the given conditions. Teaching is but one of many

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factors in the situation. The examiner may have given the tests very differently in the two classes, or the classes may have been composed at the outset of pupils of very unlike abilities, or one

DIAGRAM 7 — COMPARISONS OF NEW YORK SECOND-GRADE CLASS SCORES WITH STANDARD SCORES



class may have been tested at the close of a period of direct teaching of the subject matter of the tests, while the other had not such training. No valid interpretation can be attached to the results of tests in the absence of a knowledge of the conditions under which they were given

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and scored. But precisely herein lies their value. For it is possible to keep all known conditions under control, and then unexpected variations in class scores will be signals, warnings, that some unusual factor is operating. One of the purposes of measurement is to bring such variations to light. If no steps are taken to make the necessary modifications, the measurement itself is of no value; but in the hands of a competent supervisor, the results from tests supply just the information needed to enable him to perform efficiently his function of investigating such variations, determining their causes, and making the adjustments that may be needed.

A good illustration is furnished by a comparison of the test results for New York and Boston, respectively, given in Table IX. On a simple reading of these, the teaching in New York City would seem to be much more effective than that in Boston. Such a conclusion, however, is entirely unwarranted, for it is known that in New York the tests were given only to a few selected classes, while in Boston all classes were included. Moreover, some of the other conditions under which the tests were given were not the same in the two cities; therefore no legitimate inferences in regard to the relative efficiency of the work in the two cities can be made from a comparison of the figures in the tables. Suppose, however, that the conditions had been made the same in the two cities, and that the evening-school work was under the direction of the same super-

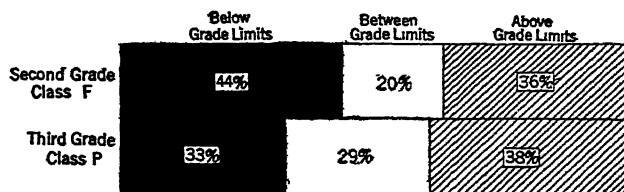
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visor: it would then be evident that the work in Boston was not going as successfully as that in New York, and it would be the supervisor's duty to find the reason and take such steps as proved necessary to eliminate the disturbing factors.

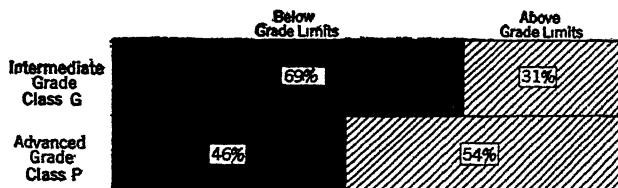
The answer to the second of the questions raised above in regard to present conditions of

DIAGRAM 8.—DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL SCORES IN SPELLING
WITH REFERENCE TO GRADE LIMITS

NEW YORK



BOSTON



grading is found by selecting an intermediate class of standard ability and classifying the individual members with reference to the same grade standards (Table XI¹ and Diagram 8).

¹ Appendix, p. 393.

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Thus, 44 per cent of the pupils of a standard second-year class (Class *F*, Table X) were found to be of first-year grade in spelling, 20 per cent of second-year grade, and 36 per cent of third-year grade. Similar results were obtained for other subjects, for other grades, and for both cities. This wide variation in ability within a single class cannot be said to be a condition peculiar to evening-school work. Survey reports on day-school classes show that a similar condition is a constant feature of all mass instruction. The results mean, simply, that present methods of grading in both types of schools are utterly inadequate. Efficient grading alone cannot solve the problem, however, because even if homogeneous groups are formed by selection after measurement, individuals differ so in rate of progress that in a short time the original condition is reproduced. The remedy is to be sought in new methods of classroom procedure which will permit of greater adaptation of the work of an individual to his measured needs.

QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

The attempt was made to determine the effect of poor grading—*i.e.*, of including pupils of varying grades of ability within a single class—upon classroom instruction. Two facts are clearly indicated by an analysis of the data secured: first, the membership of evening-school classes is constantly changing; second, those who withdraw are often those whose abilities deviate

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most from the average for the class. The data for these conclusions follow.

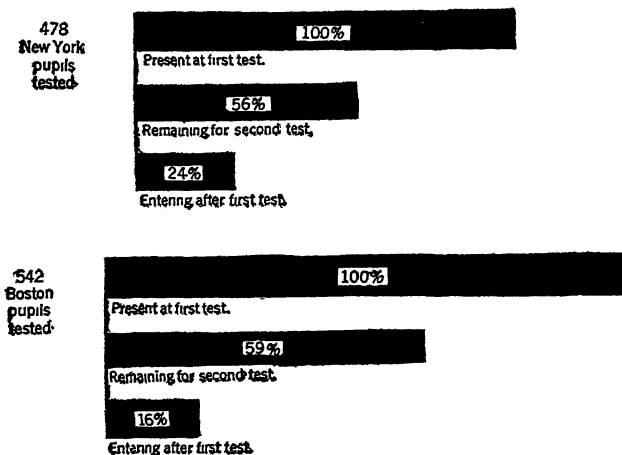
The problem of maintaining constant enough attendance in evening-school classes to make the results worth while is a serious one. In the absence of state or city compulsion, voluntary attendance is bound to be uncertain and irregular at best. Intellectual work at the close of a long, hard day is not intrinsically inviting, and school exercises have to compete with the various forms of recreation and relaxation which are so plentiful in our big cities. The ties that bind the immigrant to his task have little strength. Ambition and friendship for teacher or classmate are two of the most potent; but dissatisfaction with any of the evening-school conditions, or with the benefits obtained, results in immediate withdrawal. The enrollment and attendance records show that, small as is the number of the foreign born who apply for training as compared with the total number in need of it, the number who actually persist through a considerable interval is smaller still.

For instance, in this investigation tests were given at the beginning and at the end of the inquiry. In New York the interval from the first test to the second was one month, or twelve lesson periods. In Boston the interval was shorter—twenty-one days, or ten lesson periods. Yet in that short interval, if the figures for the two cities are combined, more than 40 per cent of those present for the first test were not present for the second, while of those who took the second

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test 20 per cent were new students (Table XIIA¹ and Diagram 9). In Boston, the percentage of those leaving declines from 48 per cent for the beginner's classes to 40 per cent for the advanced

DIAGRAM 9.—TURNOVER IN ATTENDANCE BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND TESTS



classes. The New York classes show an irregular curve of defections, but the percentages are based on a smaller number of cases.

Many of these withdrawals are for legitimate reasons, and a comparison of the average scores made by those who leave with the average scores of those who stay does not yield any very clear indication in regard to the type of pupil who withdraws (Table XIII).² The scores of these pupils in relation to the scores of those who stay

¹ Appendix, p. 395.

² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

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are about as often higher as lower. A tabulation and analysis of the individual scores in a single test was made to show the number and percentage of pupils who stayed or left. In each grade one hundred unselected cases ¹ were divided into three groups, according to their ability scores. The basis for grouping was the following: the whole range of scores was divided into the lower quarter, middle half, and upper quarter, and the cases were grouped according as their scores fell within these three divisions.

If ability had no effect on a pupil's staying or leaving, practically the same percentage of pupils would have stayed or left in each ability group. Comparison of the percentages of defection for the respective groups indicates the type of student tending to withdraw. Of those who left in the beginner's grade, more than 50 per cent were of the very able, or the very poor—in other words, those to whom the work was least suited. In the other grades, as the average ability of the class rises, the withdrawals in the lower quarter are a larger and larger percentage as compared with the withdrawals in the other groups (Table XIV ² and Diagram 10). This means that to hold the interest of the immigrant and to win from him persistent effort, the evening-school work must be sufficiently within his grasp to give the pleasure and stimulation of conscious success.

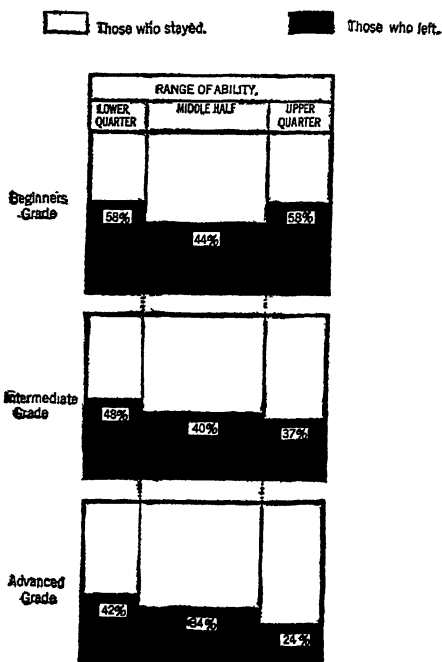
¹ There were only eighty-six tests of pupils in the Boston advanced classes.

² Appendix, p. 396.

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All that has been said about standards and variation applies equally to changes in score caused by teaching effort. Measurement at the beginning and end of a teaching period yields

DIAGRAM 10.—PROPORTION OF BOSTON PUPILS STAYING AND LEAVING DIVIDED ACCORDING TO ABILITY



grade standards of average progress (Table XV).¹ The results achieved by individual teachers vary widely in relation to these standards (Table XVI).² The changes range from absolute loss

¹ Appendix, p. 397.

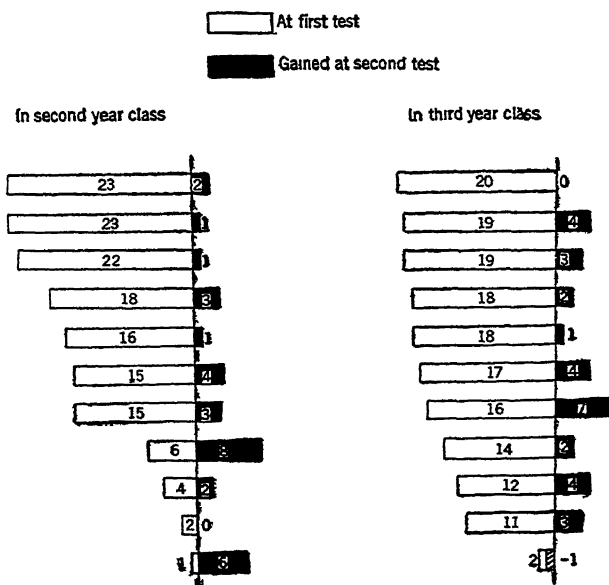
² *Ibid.*, p. 398.

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to gains of from 50 to 60 per cent of the possible gain—and the individual members of a class vary as widely in the degree to which they profit by

DIAGRAM 11—VARIATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL PUPIL'S GAIN IN SPELLING ABILITY IN NEW YORK

Bars represent numbers of words spelled correctly by individual pupils



the work of the teacher (Table XVII¹ and Diagram 11).

Thus, on the average (Table XVI), second-year classes in New York improved 16.5 per cent (from 30 per cent to 46.5 per cent) in average accuracy of spelling during the interval of the

¹ Appendix, p. 399.

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experiment, but of ten second-year classes one improved as little as 4 per cent and one improved as much as 28 per cent. Similarly (Table XVII) in a class which made very nearly the standard gain, one individual made the same score at the end as in the beginning, while at the other extreme one individual gained eight words out of twenty-five, or 32 per cent.

TESTS AS AID IN SUPERVISION

The importance of such measurements should be self-evident. A supervisor visits a classroom for a brief period once or twice during the year, and must base his estimate of work accomplished on this brief observation; a test reveals the total change that has been produced in the course of the year. As has been stated before, however, inferences are to be made only on the basis of a knowledge of conditions. A good teacher, given a class of unusually poor pupils, will make less gain than a poor teacher with a good class; an influenza epidemic may cause the scores of both classes to fall far below what they would otherwise have been. But whatever the factors operating, tests reveal with scientific accuracy what the conditions are at the close of the teaching period. The skill of the supervisor lies in his ability to investigate classes making less than normal progress and discovering and remedying the obstructing factors. In both day and evening schools, supervision at present consists mainly of inspection. It serves to keep teachers and

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principals "on the job," but from their point of view the benefits of supervision are nil.

The figures for evening classes are similar to those for day-school work, and mean that the educational process in general is woefully inefficient. At best very few individuals get any adequate return for their time and effort, while many are actually worse off than when they began. A careful study of the results set forth in Tables XV, XVI, and XVII, which are better rather than worse than the average, should convince any thoughtful person of the need for the development of more effective methods of teaching.

EFFECT OF TEACHER TRAINING

As the lesson sheets for this study involved several features which were new and which required explanation, it was resolved to attempt a measurement of the effects of such explanations. Accordingly, ten of the New York teachers met with the supervisor for an hour on each of three evenings, while ten did not. At the first of these meetings very fine and complete instruction in the use of the lesson sheets was given by the supervisor, in the form of a lecture which served as a direct preparation for the work of the first three nights. The second and third meetings were given up to discussions of difficulties encountered, successes achieved, and suggestions for further effort. The teachers expressed themselves freely as to the benefit

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of such conferences and the need for similar supervision. They were paid for their attendance at these meetings.

Evidence of the effect of the supervision was sought in three ways: (1) in the manner in which the class work was conducted, (2) in the progress made, and (3) in a comparison of the attendance figures. To compare the manner in which the supervised and unsupervised classes were conducted, special paid observers visited each class each night, and recorded the amount of time given to each division of the lesson, and the character of the relation between teacher and pupils. The teachers were also rated as to the degree to which they made use of objective illustrations from daily life and encouraged self-directed activity on the part of their pupils.

The records of eight different observers for each teacher were averaged. The observers found marked differences both in the length of the active sessions and in the teachers' distribution of time over the lessons. There were marked differences also in the teachers' attitudes toward their pupils.

Although in all the schools the buildings were open and the teachers were on duty the full 120 minutes intended for an evening session, the actual length of session varied from 85 minutes to 110 minutes. The cause of this shortening of the session was the lateness of the pupils in arriving, in itself a measure of their interest in their work; however, the average length of session per night is very nearly the same for the two

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groups, and the distribution of time among the different activities does not vary greatly (Table XVIII).¹ The supervised group of teachers put slightly more emphasis on silent reading and slightly less on oral reading and spelling, in accordance with the instructions of the supervisor.

A similar variation was found in the methods of teaching. Although the teacher receiving the highest rating belonged to the supervised group, and the teacher receiving the lowest rating to the unsupervised group, in both groups teachers of both high and low rating occurred. The median rating for the twenty teachers was 3.69 out of a possible 5.00 points. In the supervised group, seven teachers were rated above the median, while only three in the unsupervised group made this rating (Table XIX).² The supervision, therefore, probably affected slightly the methods used by the teachers.

In progress of pupils the differences were small and the results inconsistent (Table XX);³ on the whole the ratings were slightly in favor of the supervised teachers. It is probable that the differences were as large as it is reasonable to expect for so short an interval.

The variation in class attendance for the two groups was very nearly the same (Table XXI).⁴ The unsupervised group proved to have the slightly greater holding power, but attracted a correspondingly smaller number of new students. These results are again inconsistent and are

¹ Appendix, p. 399. ² *Ibid.*, p. 400. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 400. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

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probably to be explained as the effect of factors not included in the scope of the inquiry.

As a whole, therefore, the experiment must be judged to have yielded inconclusive results. The effects of the supervision were small, if any. Nevertheless, the experiment shows plainly the need of supervision, illustrates the method by which the effect of regular supervision might be determined, and gives point to the presumption that it is the duty of supervisors to prove by measurement the worth of their services.

COMPARING TEACHING METHODS

In view of current educational theory and the evidence of differences in the methods used by teachers, it seemed wise to compile the results according to methods used. Accordingly, three groups of six teachers each were formed, groups fairly comparable in size and ability of the pupils comprising their classes, but differing in the emphasis placed by the teacher on the self-directed activity of the pupils—that is, in Group I were placed the teachers with the highest ratings, and in Group III the teachers who tended to arbitrary and academic instruction.

As before, it was sought to ascertain the effects of the differences in method in three different ways. With respect to average length of session, the results indicate that the teachers with formal methods secured greater promptness in assembling, with consequent increased length of session, but the differences were not large (Table XXII).¹

¹ Appendix, p. 402.

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In actual progress achieved, Group II, composed of the average teachers or those making use of both kinds of method, of some measure of self-directed activity and of some features of formal teaching, seems to show the better results, although again the differences are small and the results inconsistent (Table XXIII).¹ As regards attendance, the results for the first and second groups are nearly the same, better than those for the third group with respect to percentage of new pupils enrolled, but not better than those for the latter group with respect to holding power (Table XXIV).²

In this experiment the grouping of teachers on the basis of method does not yield data which differ greatly from those of the preceding tests, for which teachers were grouped on the basis of supervision received. In a similar experiment carried out under normal conditions, schools and teachers could be so chosen as to yield groups comparable except for a single factor.³ Under such conditions the effect of this factor could be accurately determined.

SELECTING SUBJECT MATTER

One further type of measurement result will be discussed which is of vital importance in education work with immigrants—*i.e.*, the selection by measurement of suitable material for class-

¹ Appendix, p. 403.

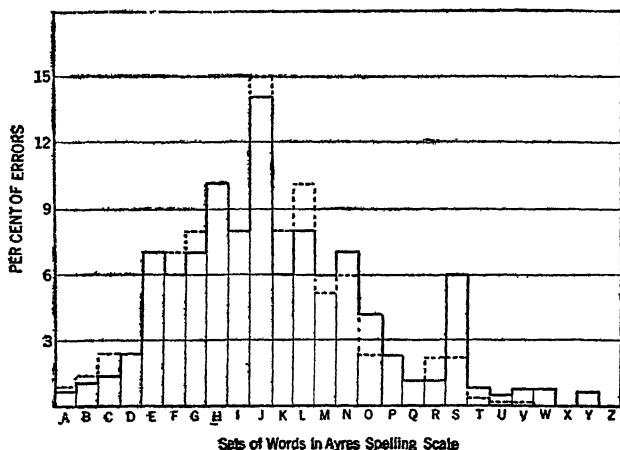
² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³ See *School and Society*, vol. x, No. 238, "Measuring the Effects of Supervision in Geography."

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room use. In the composition test, the pupils wrote sentences of their own composition. The words misspelled in these sentences were tabulated and checked against the Ayres spelling scale (Table XXV¹ and Diagram 12). In both

DIAGRAM 12 — DISTRIBUTION OF SPELLING ERRORS IN COMPOSITION TEST FOR EACH SET OF WORDS IN AYRES SPELLING SCALE
NEW YORK ——— BOSTON - - - - -



cities more than 66 per cent of all the errors in spelling made, and nearly 50 per cent of the different words misspelled, were found in the Ayres scale.² The Ayres spelling scale consists of the one thousand most frequently used words of the English language, arranged in twenty-six sets, each set being designated by a letter of the

¹ Appendix, p. 405.

² *Measurement of Ability in Spelling*, Leonard P. Ayres.

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alphabet. The words in set *A* are very simple, as "me," "do"; the words in set *B* are a little more difficult, and so on. The mode for both New York and Boston classes falls at set *J*. The first ten words in set *J* are "seven," "forget," "happy," "noon," "think," "sister," "cast," "card," "south," "deep." On the average, such words are spelled with an average accuracy of 84 per cent by third-grade children, and with an accuracy of 100 per cent by sixth-grade children. Yet these were the words most frequently misspelled when used spontaneously by adult foreign born.

It is apparent also that the type of words such classes for foreign born need to study are those found in sets *G* to *L*. According to Ayres, third-grade children spell all these words with 75 per cent of accuracy. A score of 75 per cent for a given group of words is usually taken as indication that this group is the proper subject of study for the group in question. The spelling needs of immigrants in the evening classes, judged by frequency of errors, would therefore seem to be those of third-grade children. In other words, most of the content of the special lessons used in this investigation and in the regular work of evening schools is over the heads of the pupils and beyond their needs.

The conclusion is that in the selection of suitable material, and in the organization of courses of study, measurement should be constantly used as an aid in determining what subject matter is of most worth. Choice of content should not be

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left to the eccentricities of textbook makers or to the passing and unchecked whims of the teacher. If the actual needs of the immigrant, as expressed in his own projects, are not to determine the work done, there should be careful evaluation by measurement of the difficulty of the subject matter used for class work.

USEFULNESS OF TESTS

Many other illustrations of the application of measurements to educational problems might be given, but those described above should make clear the chief functions of measurement in education. These may be summarized as follows: (1) Defining the goals or standards of instruction and evaluating subject matter in terms of these goals; (2) measuring the abilities of classes or individuals and determining their abilities and needs with reference to the established standards; (3) determining, after an attempt has been made to bring about the desired changes, the degree of success achieved. On the basis of such testing, teaching and supervision can be intelligently directed, the most efficient methods selected, and the effectiveness of the educative process continually improved.

VII

EDUCATIONAL SERVICE STATIONS

THE previous chapters have emphasized the fact that the attention of the American public has been focused on the problem of the education of the immigrant adult. The fact has been brought out that to-day America is awakening to the truth of the situation and is becoming grimly determined to bring the message of American ideals within the reach of all its inhabitants who are of foreign birth. Herein lies a great opportunity and as considerable a source of danger, because the problem of the education of the foreign born as an aid to Americanization is not at all the same as that of training the immature child.

The pupils in our evening schools have from twenty to sixty years and more of experience behind them. They are in the midst of life, and under the pressure of life's insistent demands. Their desire for education and their specific needs are clearly defined. To be acceptable, the training the school offers must meet their needs immediately, adequately, efficiently. Can it be truly affirmed of the courses now given in our

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evening schools that they do meet the situation in such manner?

CONVENTIONAL TEACHING DOGMATIC

Consider, for instance, the present status of classes for teaching English to foreign born. Passing over the inadequate financial provision which limits the number of sessions, ignoring the fact that adults must sometimes sit in seats meant for children and study from texts and materials designed for childish minds, forgetting the unfavorable conditions, such as the strain of one or two hours of intellectual effort at the close of a long, hard day, let us consider only that the conception of education which pervades all such work is the conventional one of a teacher who teaches and of learners who learn.

Conventional work in education, whether in the elementary school or in the university, proceeds largely on the assumption that the teacher, because of his superior knowledge, skill, or power, is able to do something to the pupils which transforms them into more capable beings so far as the field of study in question is concerned. Accordingly, the teacher carefully studies his subject matter, organizes it in ways which seem to him most effective, and during class time carries out his prearranged plan, the pupils submitting passively to his direction. As a result, conventional education is dogmatic, the teacher is an autocrat, the good pupil a submissive creature who yields unquestioning obedience and indus-

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triously applies himself to the tasks set by his instructor.

This general attitude and scheme of things carries over into evening-school work. Teachers are recruited largely from the day schools; the classes are held in day-school rooms; texts, courses of study, and methods of work are adapted from day-school practice. In addition, the pupils are foreign born, creatures whose queer, strange ways tend to call out in the teachers the instinctive feeling of superiority which as day-school teachers they have even for the incapable or the immature.

PARTNERSHIP, THE BASIS OF TEACHING

The superstition that ability may be transmitted by instruction has its origin in the fact that all men continually profit by the exchange of experience. If my friend discovers a way to tie a knot which is better than the method I use, I can learn from him if he is willing to help me, and he can teach me if I wish to learn. Analysis of the process, however, shows that in life successful teaching has three essential characteristics: (1) It is a friendly service rendered by one individual to another on such a basis, and under such conditions, that each recognizes and respects the individuality and independence of the other; (2) the behavior of the two individuals is consciously dominated by a common purpose—the achievement by the learner of an immediate and well-defined result; (3) the teaching consists in setting the pupil an example of *what to do*, in

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giving him a chance to try, and in aiding him to overcome his difficulties and mistakes.

To the superficial thinker conventional teaching may seem to fulfill all three of these conditions, but the fact of the matter is that it violates all three. The conventional teacher thinks of his class much as a surgeon thinks of a deformed body which he is to cut and mold into more perfect form, or as a captain thinks of his troops as by his command he arranges them in a given formation. In one sense the teacher is conscious that it is his duty to be of service to his pupils, but his conception of service is not that connoted by the word as used above. In his mind, the measure of his service is too likely to be the effort he expends, and not the resulting benefit. The whole tone of the relation between pupil and teacher is affected by this difference. In both day and evening-school work, this accounts for the almost complete ignoring of the needs and desires of the pupils and the adoption of mass methods of instruction.

It will be said by many that at least both pupil and teacher have a common purpose—that the immigrant's purpose is to learn English and the teacher's purpose is to teach it. Yet these two purposes are by no means identical, and this is one of the sources of trouble. However, the real difficulty is that to learn English is such a large, vague, general aim, and the ultimate achievement deferred so long, that neither teacher nor pupil has any conscious realization of the oneness of their aims, nor any sense of

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accomplishment, both of which are essential to continued effort. To teach a class of foreign born English is an impersonal, routine job; but to help an immigrant to write a letter answering an advertisement which he wishes to answer and cannot, from lack of skill in writing, is to set up a common purpose. Moreover, in rendering a service so direct and personal, there is little danger of wrong relationships being established, or of consciousness of the personal nature of the service being lost.

Finally, there is the question of method. Nothing in the foregoing is meant to imply that thought, care, and preparation are of no value. On the contrary, the third condition of teaching postulated above calls for more careful preparation and greater elaboration of method than yet prevails. Conventional teaching commands the learner to perform certain acts in the order which seems to the teacher desirable. True teaching aims to assist the learner to act as the teacher acts. Now the most vital characteristic of the teacher's activity is that it is purposive and self-directed. When teacher and pupil really have a common purpose, and when the teacher really desires to serve the learner by helping him to achieve his purpose, then both strive by common consent for complete self-initiated, self-directed activity on the part of the pupil.

The opportunity before America to-day is that of organizing educational work for immigrants on a true service basis. We have reason

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to hope that great efforts in Americanization are about to be made. Existing facilities and methods are admittedly inefficient; desirable changes made now would not only increase the effectiveness of Americanization activities but would react favorably upon all educational work. It is worth while considering, therefore, what the organization of educational work on a service basis means in terms of practical adjustments.

The most important element in the new order would be recognition of the purpose of all educational work for immigrants as that of assisting them in their participation in American life, and helping them to make effective use of American institutions. Evening schools would be thought of as a city's educational service stations, to which any foreign born could go and obtain free information, explanations, training, or assistance of any kind of which they stood in need. There would be no required work, no grades, no courses of study. The teacher's business would not be to teach in the sense in which that term is ordinarily understood, but to assist; the work would be individual and determined wholly by the needs and desires of the pupils. The equipment would consist of maps, directories, newspapers, time-tables, pictures, books, and other articles which in their uses in the life of a city prove puzzling to foreign born.

THE "UNIT TASK"

Suppose that a non-English-speaking immigrant without friends planning to go from one city

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to another attempts to buy a ticket of a station agent at a busy time. His reaction is likely to be one of confusion, loss of confidence, and an awakening appreciation of the desirability of learning English. Suppose now that this immigrant goes to one of the new type of evening schools. On entering, he is met and welcomed by the member of the school staff who is most able to gain his confidence and diagnose his needs. The immigrant himself knows only that he wants to learn to speak English, but by dint of questioning through a student interpreter the real basis of his desire is discovered. Accordingly, a railroad ticket, money, a time-table, map, cards with the names of the cities, signs common to railway stations, pictures of each stage of the journey—buying a ticket, taking a train, etc.—and other material essential to a dramatization of the scene, are taken from the school's supply-room, and with these the immigrant goes to a teacher of beginners. For the next half hour the pupil receives the undivided attention of the instructor; the whole process of buying a ticket is acted out; the immigrant's pronunciation of the names of the cities to and from which he wishes to go is improved, the words "ticket," "dollars," "time," etc., are comprehended in meaning and sound, and associated with the printed symbols. The pupil is then sent to a study hall to practice the use of his newly acquired words and sentences for some time by himself. Finally, the lesson is reviewed with a teacher once more, and the man sent

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home with a little printed pamphlet containing the words and pictures of the evening's work so arranged that he can teach himself. As he departs the immigrant is conscious that the school has rendered him just the service he desires, that he has made progress toward his goal, that further progress is dependent wholly on his own efforts, and that unlimited possibilities of receiving assistance in making many other adjustments to his new and strange environment are his for the asking. The teacher, also, is conscious of the progress made, and of the personal character of the service he has rendered. Both teacher and pupil know just how much of their common purpose has been achieved.

Let us suppose that on the following night the immigrant returns, and that a brief review shows the lesson of the previous night well mastered. A proud and happy pupil would then be ready to receive in a few minutes all the instruction needed to start him on the acquisition of a score of new words, signs, and sentences, practice in the use of which would keep him busy most of the evening; only occasionally would there be appeal for the assistance of the instructor, and again he would take away with him printed material upon which to work at home. As he gained confidence, and under the guidance of his friendly teacher, he would venture to use other English words that he heard, words not directly connected with his immediate project. His vocabulary would grow with in-

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creasing rapidity; in a very few evenings he would estimate his command of English to be sufficient for his immediate needs, and could leave for the other city. His English pronunciation would not be of the best, his idioms would be faulty, his abilities limited, but the victory would have been won. He could "speak English" well enough for his purpose, he would have learned that he could acquire English, and he would have started on the road that leads to Americanization. For in his hour of need America came to his rescue, America did him a favor; and out of the gratitude that in such cases spontaneously wells up in the heart is born that wonderful spirit which in its fullness makes the immigrant say, "I want to be a citizen of this country. When I was in trouble she extended a helping hand. She gave me the chance I craved, the opportunity I did not have in the country from which I came. Through her institutions, I have found freedom to achieve my heart's desire. My home is here. My children go to her schools. Now this country is dear to me. I will give my life for her if she is in danger. For I, too, have become an American."

No one knows better than the writer how ready all educational workers will be in one breath to commend a scheme of educational service to the foreign born as ideal, and in the next to condemn it as utterly impractical. However, this chapter is written not with the idea that any sudden transformation of evening-school

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work is possible, but rather with the idea of pointing out opportunities, and of suggesting desirable lines of experimentation. This much is certain: the millions of immigrants who are already a part of our complex civilization are daily finding themselves out of adjustment with American ways and American institutions. A visit to any railway station, any post-office, or any police court will show countless instances in which a very little teaching of essential words, a very little explanation of rules and regulations, would be of inestimable service to bewildered immigrants and a direct aid in their assimilation. Is it not pertinent to inquire how far this fertile field is being drawn upon as a basis for evening-school work?

Surely the sentence, "I want a ticket," is as easy to learn as "I go to the door," and much more significant to the Italian or Pole who in the past has had only the ordinary ticket agent for his instructor. Is it not the duty of those charged with assistance of the immigrant to canvass thoroughly the city's life and ways, and to determine with scientific care all instances in which the contacts of foreign born with American institutions and customs are giving rise to difficulties? Many of these would undoubtedly be available for "practical" use in the schools.

SERVICE OR ACADEMIC INSTRUCTION?

"But," the conventional teacher will say, "no amount of such fragmentary help as your scheme contemplates will ever teach the foreigner Eng-

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lish. He must have systematic instruction in a regular course of lessons. He must learn to read and write as well as speak. He must know nouns, verbs, adjectives, paragraphing, punctuation, and grammar, and a thousand and one other things which can only be given by careful study of a text under a competent instructor." For the conventional teacher has his eye so fixed upon his subject matter that he loses sight of his pupils and the uses which they are to make of what they learn.

The answers to such objections are many. It is possible to show how small a part all formal analysis and organization of the subject matter of any instruction plays in the actual life experiences of even the native born. Attention might be called to the relative importance of the two goals—that of assisting the immigrant in making those adjustments which result in his Americanization, and that of giving him a thorough but academic knowledge of English. There is, however, one answer which tells the whole story in such a way that even conventional teachers cannot fail to understand. For instance, in the experiment described in the preceding chapter, out of a group of 853 students in fifty-four classes, but 58 per cent of those attending on a certain evening were present eleven lessons later. In the brief interval necessary for twelve meetings of the classes, 42 per cent of the original group had dropped out, and new pupils comprising 20 per cent of the enrollment had taken their places¹

¹ See Table XIII, Appendix, p. 395.

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—that is, under present conditions but very few night-school pupils attend continually, and therefore any attempt at systematic work over a considerable period of time is foredoomed to failure.

The reasons for the attendance condition found in evening schools are many, but important among them is the fact previously mentioned that many of the pupils do not see that they are getting adequate return for time and effort expended. This is strikingly illustrated by the attendance record shown in Table VIII, based upon a week's work in an evening high school for adults in which academic and technical courses are offered side by side.

TABLE VIII
AVERAGE WEEKLY ATTENDANCE OF FOREIGN-BORN ADULTS
IN AN EVENING HIGH SCHOOL

COURSES	MEMBER- SHIP	ATTENDANCE	
		Number	Per Cent
English for immigrants	312	171	55
5th and 6th grades	185	161	87 ¹
7th and 8th grades	382	293	77
Mathematics	1,436	1,069	74
Total	2,315	1,694	73
Semimotivated work:			
Drafting	528	414	78
Electrical courses	564	411	73
Woodwork courses	168	141	84
Machinshop courses	591	522	88
Total	1,851	1,488	80
Fully motivated work:			
Citizenship classes	214	214	100
Chemistry and pharmacy	650	578	89
Senior continuation classes	101	92	92
Special welding	220	187	85
Automobile work	405	314	77 ²
Total	1,590	1,385	87

¹ High average due to an exceptionally able teacher

² Three classes of more than one hundred each, handled by one man.

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In general, the more closely the school work related to purposes in life outside of school, the higher the average of attendance. Even in schools being what they are, personal liking for teachers, the social pleasure of meeting with group for any purpose whatsoever, a regular engagement to walk to and from school with friend account for much of the attendance which is regular. Under these circumstances nearly any reason serves as an excuse for staying away from a class. In other words, even under present conditions, teachers must give lessons, not courses and to continually fluctuating groups. Moreover pupils come not only irregularly, but late, and the evening session is correspondingly shortened. In the experiment of the preceding chapter although the schools were open and the teachers on duty each night for the full 120 minutes scheduled for a single session, the best class averaged but 110 minutes of work a night, and the worst class 83 minutes, for the eight consecutive lessons for which observations were made.

Suppose now that the school desired, and was equipped, to give assistance to foreign born in a number of specific tasks—*i.e.*, learning to sign one's name, finding a number in a telephone directory, consulting a time-table, writing a letter of application, drawing books from a library, etc. Suppose that when immigrants came for help, no effort was systematically made to give to each one only the help he needed, trusting to the cumulative benefit to produce desire for further study. Suppose that printed instructions or aids

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these tasks could be taken from the school for home study and practice. Would not this individualized work have greater meaning and interest to the pupil than a prearranged formal mass lesson? Would not every immigrant become, himself, a teacher and a walking advertisement for the evening school?

PROVIDING FOR INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

"But," the conventional teacher will reply, "your scheme calls for individual instruction, and individual instruction, however desirable, is out of the question financially." It is true that individual instruction on the basis of present school work would cost more than most cities are willing to pay, but it is not true that the cost of teachers and materials would be excessive under the new plan of procedure. Only those who have tried it can have any appreciation of the rapidity with which the pupil learns when his work is fully motivated, self-directed, and freed from the hampering requirements of academic standards. For the first lessons with beginners, absolutely individual instruction would be necessary; but after two or three lessons four or five pupils may be handled at one time. Often groups of several persons will be interested in the same project at the same time, and can be of great assistance to one another, working together. After the first few lessons, one teacher with properly prepared material could probably give all the individual assistance needed by groups of from

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thirty to forty individuals, each working independently on his own task.

In popular and conventional thinking individual instruction seems always an impossible ideal, because it implies that the teacher exercises his miraculous transforming power on each pupil individually in precisely the same fashion in which he attempts to exercise it on the group as a whole. That is, of course, impossible; but individual *assistance* implies that each student is busily engaged in teaching himself, and that the teacher gives assistance only now and then, when it is needed.

Education has for so long been without objective standards of measurement that few persons realize that individual differences determine the effects of teaching just as much as the teacher's efforts. Individual differences are commonly ignored, and consequently the processes of education are needlessly inefficient. For instance, at the beginning of a course of eight lessons in spelling in evening classes for teaching English to immigrants, a test of twenty-five words was given. Of the eight hundred and seventy-three pupils tested, 1 per cent spelled every word correctly, 10 per cent did not miss more than six words, while only 19 per cent missed all of the twenty-five words. The tests were given to classes of all grades—that is, some were beginners, some had already had one year's work, some two, some three. In one city the beginners' classes made an average score of 14 per cent, the second-year classes an average of 34 per cent, the third-

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year 60 per cent, and the fourth-year 75 per cent. Yet none of these classes showed a variation of individual ability from lowest to highest pupil of less than 48 per cent; some classes showed 100 per cent; the median variation was 84 per cent. That is, the variation of ability in any one class is ordinarily more than three times as great as the score the average change produced by a term's work. Every class is thus really an ungraded class with respect to any given subject matter.

The effect of this wide range of individual differences is plainly seen if the effects of the teaching are studied. If none of the 508 individuals present for both the initial and final tests had been able to spell any of the words, there would have been 12,700 mistakes, and the teachers' job would have been to secure finally 12,700 correct spellings. Actually, however, there were 4,052 words spelled correctly in the very first test; that is, the teachers' task was 32 per cent completed before any teaching took place. Nevertheless, the teachers taught all the words, and thus wasted 32 per cent of their effort.

The group actually made 8,648 mistakes. But at the end of the teaching period, when the test was repeated, the group still made 7,067 mistakes. The gain was 1,581 correct spellings. The effectiveness of the teaching was, therefore, 18 per cent—that is, on the average, but one mistake in five made at the beginning of the teaching was corrected by the work that was done in class. In the best classes the effective-

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ness of teaching, estimated on the same basis, rose to 85 per cent, and quite a few classes made gains of 40 per cent or more—that is, the best classes show from twice to four times the average gain.

It must not be supposed that these results are exceptionally poor. On the contrary, they are precisely similar to the results secured in day-school work in spelling, both as regards range of individual ability and efficiency in teaching. They are the inevitable outcome of mass instruction, which does not take account of individual differences. The one way out of the difficulty is the devising of forms of classroom administration which will permit of adjustment of teaching to individual differences without destroying the mass formation.

It is precisely this which the “unit-task method” of instruction does. A man can learn to write his name and address without learning to write in general; he can learn enough English to buy a railroad ticket without learning to speak the entire English language. He can learn to read the signs in a post-office well enough to take a money order to the proper window, without learning to read all the signs he sees. And the proper filling out of the same money order makes an ideal writing lesson for evening-school work. The unit-task method enables the evening school to capitalize the immigrant’s desire to learn and each of his subsequent successes; it enlists his aid in teaching himself.

The essential elements of individual instruc-

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tion are two: First, the lessons or tasks or projects must each be an achievement complete in itself—hence the name “unit-task method”; second, the instructions necessary for the assistance of the individual must be in such form that the individual can for the most part teach himself by following them. Even here, however, the assistance of the teacher will be needed occasionally, for this man at one point, for that man at another; but after the initial stage has been passed one teacher can give individual assistance to a large group.

SUGGESTED EXPERIMENTS

“But,” the conventional schoolman will object, “our work has not been organized on this basis, and we could not make the proper preparation quickly if we would.” This is of course true. The whole point of this chapter is not that the reorganization of the entire educational work for immigrants should be attempted, but that serious experimental study of the Americanization process should be begun to determine how far an evolution of method along the lines indicated is practical.

There are three steps that are within the bounds of immediate achievement wherever classes of immigrants are taught: (1) teachers and principals could be so impressed with the ideal of service and its possibilities that their attitude toward the foreign born would be totally changed, and a situation more favorable for

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requests for assistance be created; (2) one room in each night school could be devoted to, and advertised as, an educational service station, to see how far immigrants would respond to such opportunity, and how far the assistance given could be utilized for educational ends; (3) record could be kept of the kinds of service demanded, and of the types of situations which present difficulties to immigrants. As a complement to such records, the life of the city could be surveyed and a selection of situations made as the basis of such series of unit tasks as would be most frequently demanded, and within themselves provide a great deal of general training.

The proper preparation of these unit lessons is an important element in the situation. It is hard to believe that the extemporaneous procedure of the average teacher can equal in effectiveness prepared directions experimentally evolved through the co-operative efforts of, say, the ten best teachers available. Little care has been given to this phase of educational work; the class activities of almost any single teacher will yield instances of exceptional skill as well as of gross violation of the most fundamental principles. What most teachers never do is deliberately to plan their work so as to give their pupils a chance to teach themselves. The potentialities of photographs, moving pictures, phonographs, etc., as aids to self-education have not been appreciated as yet. If ten teachers of exceptional ability co-operated in preparing instructions with which illiterate immigrants could

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teach themselves enough English to be able to conduct the negotiations for renting a room, the lesson could be administered by a teacher of very ordinary ability with a minimum of training, and yet produce exceptional results.

The ideal of rendering services to the foreign born would vitally affect everything about evening-school work. For instance, the material chosen for reading, or for citizenship classes, would be selected with the purpose of making use of all that is of value in the heritage of the immigrant. It cannot be too much emphasized that, "dagos" and "hunkies" though they may be called, our foreign born have behind them long histories that are as dear and as sacred to them as our own stories of the Revolution, or our basic institutions, are to us. American ideals are but the expression of some of the aspirations which are to be found in all races and ages. When night-school material is so chosen or written as to tap these hidden desires, great stores of energy will be released for educational and Americanization purposes. Keeping in mind what might be done to make plain to the immigrant that America is the land of opportunity, the land that will make easy the achievement of his most cherished ambitions, the reader is asked to judge of the following paragraph, taken from a manual for citizenship issued by one of our large cities:

A citizen of the United States is one who owes allegiance to it and to no other country. The laws of the United States provide that all persons who are born in the United States are citizens of it, even though their parents are aliens,

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and that all persons except Chinese, who are born in other countries, may become citizens by being naturalized. To be naturalized is to renounce allegiance to the country of which one is a citizen, or to the monarch to whom one is subject, and to swear allegiance to the United States.

From the point of view of an American speaking to an alien whose continued allegiance to his native country is a menace, this paragraph expresses forcefully and clearly important truths. But is it not pertinent to ask whether or not information in regard to becoming a citizen of the United States can be couched in language more readily understood by the immigrant, more certain to appeal to his needs and desires, and less likely to arouse in him all those ideas and emotions which would set him against a change of allegiance?

Let us consider, for instance, the probable effect of the same ideas if expressed somewhat as follows:

The United States is a country made by men who came from other lands. In their native homes they found life hard, chances few, and improvement slow. So they broke the ties that bound them and in this new world made a land of freedom, a land of opportunity, where every man who tries is respected and has a chance to live in peace and happiness. To make these things secure, they set up rules and laws to govern themselves and those other men who still come from foreign lands.

Those who are born in the United States are citizens by birth, even though their parents were foreign born. Those who are born in other lands are allowed by law to join the citizenship of the United States, or be naturalized, as it is called, but only when they love this country and all she stands for better than any other country. Naturalization

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is for those who wish to become Americans. To be naturalized is to give up allegiance to the country where one was born, or to the monarch to whom one is subject, and to swear to obey the laws and uphold the constitution of the United States.

The crucial objection to the suggestions of this chapter is that they have nowhere been systematically tried. What is needed is objective evidence that a change of method would improve the efficiency of evening-school work. This cannot be given at present. However, the reader should remember also that this chapter is merely a plea for a scientific attempt to secure such evidence.

DEMAND OF THE NEW TIMES

On the other hand, behind the suggestions given is a wealth of indirect evidence which is worthy of consideration. First, educational theory has been moving in the direction of motivation on the basis of the needs of the pupil, and of recognition of individual differences, for many years. Recently this movement has been gaining headway rapidly. Second, under pressure of war emergencies, military authorities have been driven over and over again to mobilizing small specific units for instruction, and for limited purposes and within narrow fields results have been secured which must be counted wonderful when compared with the slow, painful process of conventional education. Third, a large number of teachers of evening schools now make use in

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unsystematic ways of many of the devices and methods for which this chapter contends.

To-day America stands face to face with what is probably a critical time in her history; problems press for solution on every hand. Not least of these is the need for rapid and efficient Americanization of the millions of individuals who at present live as aliens in our midst. The most hopeful feature of the situation is the attitude of these selfsame aliens; they are, in the main, favorably disposed toward America, and many of them would gladly become Americans if they could; they imitate and adopt much of what they see around them, but often without comprehending purposes and meanings which lie behind outward forms. They crowd into our evening classes, but they do not stay. Yet they have real and vital needs. Cannot the evening schools of our cities so reinterpret their function that new methods and new adjustments will meet those needs? For, as the present danger from an unassimilated foreign-born population is great, so also, if unselfish service is rendered, and the powers and spirit of many peoples are successfully grafted into the life of our nation, we may find that we have entertained angels unawares.

VIII

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

UNTIL very recent years the immigrant desirous of learning English as a first step toward Americanization was obliged to turn for instruction either to the public evening school, or to one of the several other agencies offering classes, such as factory educational departments, the Young Men's Christian Association, and others interested in the problem of the immigrant. All of these instrumentalities have proved unable to handle the task as it should be handled. The causes of the failure of the evening school have already been discussed. Looming large among those causes has been the slowness on the part of the public, and not infrequently on the part of school people themselves, to appreciate the fact that the teaching of the adult immigrant is a highly specialized piece of work, requiring not only special aptitude, but special training as well. For years the evening school was but an appendage of the educational system, and for years it was felt that anyone could teach an evening-school class. At first the teaching of English and allied subjects in these classes was turned over to nonprofessionals, who not infrequently worked for the night's wage

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and for nothing else. Suitable teaching materials were almost wholly lacking. It is not strange, with such conditions, that the schools failed to hold even those who wished to learn.

More recently we find the trained day-school teacher working in these classes for immigrants; and while this is no unmixed blessing, inasmuch as it means a double burden for teachers already burdened enough, it is yet an improvement over what has obtained hitherto. It is quite true that not every good teacher of children proves to be a good teacher of adult immigrants; it is also true that teachers trained by normal-school methods for day-school work have often made the mistake of trying to use this training, without adaptation, in their evening-school instruction. The presence of the trained teacher in the evening school, nevertheless, has marked a step upward in the efficiency of evening-school work.

Since 1915, however, there has come to the American people, and especially to school administrators, a larger vision as to the solution of the Americanization problem. No longer is the schooling of the immigrant to be an overtime task performed by teachers who have only a casually appropriate training. Day schools and factory classes for immigrants, mothers' classes for immigrant women, these and others are all to find place in the Americanization plans for the next few years. The teachers of these classes must be specifically trained; there is a distinct pedagogy in this work with adult immigrants, and a very distinct methodology. Reference is

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made throughout this chapter to the teacher as a woman; needless to say, much of this teaching is and should be done by men.

KNOWLEDGE OF AIMS NECESSARY

The teacher of the immigrant must be acquainted with these; she must have a knowledge of the important aims of her work—namely, (1) what she is to teach, (2) how she is to teach, and (3) what standard of achievement she may expect.

The teacher of immigrants must know more specifically also what her aims should be in her tasks of teaching her pupils to speak, read, and write English, and how these aims, as well as those implied in other courses for immigrants, can best be accomplished. Finally—and this is of greatest importance—she must appreciate that her big task is the making of Americans, and must understand just what that means and how it can best be brought about. All this means that the teacher must go to school to learn another phase of her business of teaching. Colleges, normal schools, state departments of education, large city school systems—all these should take it upon themselves to put the work of teacher training in this new field on an established basis; it is very far from being on anything like such a basis now.

TRAINING ATTEMPTED BY MANY AGENCIES

Returns secured through a questionnaire are usually unsatisfactory because they are likely to be very incomplete. A questionnaire on

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teacher training for immigrant classes was sent out and this case was no exception to the general rule; of the hundreds who were questioned, only dozens replied. Nevertheless, the results justify certain conclusions, and, since these conclusions tally with what those people who are best informed already know, the probabilities are very good that the conclusions are correct. The figures given below represent returns from public-school superintendents and state normal-school presidents or principals.

Information was requested also from industrial firms, the international institutes of the Y. W. C. A., and state councils of defense. The returns from these latter were so few as to make it inadvisable to report thereon. In passing, however, it may be noted that returns from the industries or the institutes, even if more generally received, could in no way challenge the conclusions.

The questions which, with their replies, were most significant for this investigation, were as follows:

1. How many teachers in your organization have been teaching day or evening classes of non-English-speaking persons over sixteen years of age?
2. How many have had only the usual professional training, such as is given for day-school teachers in a normal school or teachers' college?
3. How many have had only the special training given in a regular course for training teachers of immigrants?
4. How many have had no training except a short, intensive course for teachers of immigrants? (Teachers of factory classes are usually in this class.)

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5. How many have had both the regular professional training of day-school teachers and special training for teaching immigrants?

6. From which of the five classes of teachers just mentioned would you prefer to choose teachers for adult immigrants? (Give reasons fully.)

Sixty-one cities and towns representing nearly every state in the Union gave answers to this section of the questionnaire. By an overwhelming majority the superintendents in these places expressed a preference for the teacher possessing the qualifications indicated in Question 5—that is to say, they preferred a regular teacher who had been specially retrained for this highly specialized task. But it is to be pointed out that of the total group, 592 teachers, in these cities engaged in Americanization work in 1918-19, the number of those specially retrained was 207. It is noteworthy that 157 of these 207 were in four of the sixty-one cities. This means that fifty-seven remaining cities reported only fifty teachers with any special training for this work.

These figures are illuminating. Some cities, such as Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Akron, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Rochester, did not report; in these cities considerable local teacher training is now going on, and has been for several years past. On the other hand, some of the retraining work noted in the reports, and indeed a considerable part of the retraining work carried on in some of the cities most advanced along this line, is of the "short-unit" variety, con-

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sisting of a few lectures or conferences only. This is inadequate, as will be pointed out later. It would seem to be a fair conclusion that we are barely beginning to break ground in this important task of retraining public-school teachers for Americanization work.

Such a conclusion with respect to both training and retraining is borne out if we consider the number of institutions throughout the country that have offered Americanization courses for teachers. Of the fifty state normal schools and colleges that gave answers on this point, there were none that offered Americanization work in courses of 1918-19; the number of those offering extension work of different types was five.

There is no intimation that these figures present with accuracy the teacher-training situation. They present it with reference to state normal schools only. They are highly significant because they tend to show (so far as answers are filed) that state normal schools, which train teachers for all work of a grade below the high school, are not yet attempting, except in rare instances, the task of training teachers for the instruction of immigrants.

State departments of education and of immigration have, in a few states, played an active part in this field since the demand for trained teachers has become acute. Massachusetts reports over 2,000 teachers trained during the past two years. Figures are not at hand for New York, but this state has conducted numerous institutes and extension classes. The litera-

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ture and courses of study for home teachers in California furnish the best material published on the subject.

In other states, such as New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the councils of national defense, or similar state organizations, have assumed leadership in this work. New Hampshire, after directing all its teacher-training efforts through the Council of National Defense, has recently created a Department of Immigrant Education, with a deputy commissioner in charge who will carry on the work that the council has instituted. Connecticut, during the past year, has had the services of several experts in immigrant education, who conducted teacher-training classes in large immigrant centers; Maryland opened its state-wide Americanization drive with a teachers' institute. The Council of National Defense in Pennsylvania has co-operated with many localities in organizing this work. In Ohio, the Council of National Defense has issued thousands of booklets intended to give practical help to teachers.

A few colleges and universities have seen the need of offering instruction for teachers of immigrants. Teachers College, Columbia University, where the summer school has offered method courses for several years past, is probably the pioneer. The University of Pittsburg, co-operating with the city of Pittsburg, last year reached many teachers; the University of Wisconsin, the University of California, and the University of Akron have likewise been active in this field.

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In addition, several city normal schools not reached through the questionnaire have made a beginning in this phase of teacher training. The Cleveland Normal School, co-operating with the city Board of Education, is the most conspicuous of these. Los Angeles Normal College, a state normal institution, has during the past school year conducted a course in teacher training which has enabled its students to engage in actual field work in the Los Angeles schools.

SUMMER COURSES IN 1919

The fact that communities have come to realize keenly the need of the trained teacher to cope with the problem of the immigrant is evidenced by the immense increase in summer-school Americanization courses offered in 1919 by colleges and normal schools. Prior to this time only very few summer courses in this subject were offered. During the summer of 1918 the state normal school in Hyannis, Massachusetts, the state normal school in Providence, Rhode Island, and the city normal school in Cleveland engaged in teacher training; the New York state institutes were also operating, and New Hampshire made a small beginning by offering a short course at the Keene normal school. The summer of 1919 witnessed what would seem to be the first step in a real drive in teacher training. Summer-school work in methods for teaching immigrants is not wholly satisfactory, because of the difficulties often encountered in arranging observation and practice

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facilities, without which no course on the professional phase of the problem is fruitful. At this stage, nevertheless, the increased activity of the summer school is encouraging. In the character of the courses offered during the year 1919, one thing is noteworthy: the idea has evidently struck home that teaching English to immigrants is not all that there is to the problem of Americanization. It is evident that the different institutions have sensed the importance of enabling the prospective teacher to answer the pertinent question, "What is Americanism?" Accordingly, we find many places presenting programs of courses in Americanization, in which treatment of the professional problem constitutes only a part. This, too, is encouraging, indicating, as it does, an attempt to educate teachers of foreign born along broader lines.

✓ The following enumeration of summer courses offered in the summer of 1919, while not complete, includes all that the investigation has revealed:

1. Columbia University offered a very complete program of courses in "Americanism and Allied Subjects," under the direction of Columbia House. Courses in Americanization, as that term is usually interpreted, and in teaching English to foreign born, were included.

2. At Harvard University there was a six weeks' course on "The Education of the Immigrant," intended to train teachers and leaders in the field of Americanization. In addition, the Massachusetts Security League, co-operat-

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ing with Harvard, offered two courses on "Americanism."

3. The University of California, in co-operation with Los Angeles Normal College, offered an extensive program in the field of Americanization; courses in history, government, American literature, and various social and economic problems were included.

4. The University of Minnesota gave a program of courses covering not only the professional aspects of Americanization work, but also courses in immigrant backgrounds and on "Americanism."

5. The University of Pittsburg held an institute on Americanization, comprising lectures and conferences conducted by several national leaders in Americanization work.

6. Johns Hopkins University had a six weeks' course in "Problems in Americanization," described as "a practical professional course."

7. Syracuse University presented a short course in Americanization, entitled "Principles and Methods in the Education of the Immigrant," with a strong staff of teachers and lecturers. This was conducted in co-operation with the New York state Department of Education.

8. The University of Chicago offered a program of courses in Americanization and allied subjects.

9. Of the two courses given at the state normal school at Hyannis, Massachusetts, one was designed especially for teachers, the other for leaders in Americanization work.

10. The New Hampshire Normal School at Plymouth offered short courses under the direc-

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tion of the Bureau of Americanization of the state Department of Education.

11. The work given by the Cleveland Normal School was not described by courses.

12. In New York state there were several institutes at Albany and other centers similar to the Syracuse Institute, under the direction of the state supervisor of immigrant education. The New York State College for Teachers, co-operating with the New York state Department of Education, offered a course in "Principles and Methods of Immigrant Education."

COURSES SUPERFICIAL AND INADEQUATE

The foregoing list of institutions presenting opportunities for teacher training might lead one to believe that the situation is being well handled. Such is not the case. It must be remembered that up to date, so far as this investigation has been able to determine, not a single state normal school in the country is offering Americanization courses to its undergraduates. The courses listed are all of the extension or summer-work variety. While this may be satisfactory at this early stage, it does not insure that thorough training which the problem demands.

Then, too, the courses offered present some striking inadequacies both in method and content. Prior to the summer of 1919 most of the courses offered were of the short-unit type, eight or ten conferences being the average length. It is possible to train an intelligent person to execute some piece of mechanical work, doubtless,

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in ten lessons, but one cannot give teachers an understanding of the great human problem of Americanization in any such time. The short-unit course is usually given over to an exemplification of the methods and principles underlying the teaching of English to immigrants. This is tremendously important, but the teaching of English is only the first step in Americanization; it merely opens the door. In passing, it may be pointed out that a teacher may know how to teach English to an immigrant pupil, but because she does not know the immigrant individual or his point of view, and especially because she does not know what the task of Americanization really is with reference to the immigrant, her teaching may fail to achieve its purpose.

With a few notable exceptions the courses offered have been largely of the lecture variety. No normal school would attempt to train teachers without employing observation, demonstration, and practice work. If we mean to do the task as it should be done, our courses in Americanization must include these activities.

Not infrequently these courses are given not by one or two instructors, but by several, each presenting the phase of the matter about which he knows most. The result is a lack of unity, of coherence; the student goes away with a confusion of ideas. Lectures by different people are not out of place in a course of teacher training for Americanization work, but they should be of a supplementary character. The course itself should be in the hands of one indi-

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vidual, who is responsible for its aims, methods, and fundamental points of view. This makes for clearness of thought on the part of the student. Anyone who notes the confusing interpretations that are daily given to the Americanization problem appreciates how important this is.

IMPORTANCE OF RACIAL BACKGROUNDS

Some of the courses included in the programs outlined above cannot strictly be called Americanization courses. Some of the leaflets issued for teachers suggest teaching practices that no practical teacher would use. There is a danger just now that some of our higher institutions of learning, in their suddenly awakened zeal, will present work in Americanization conducted by people whose first-hand knowledge of the immigrant is very slight. No teacher can be a first-class teacher of immigrants unless her knowledge of her pupils as human beings is so intimate that she can utilize in the fullest measure what the immigrant has brought with him from his home overseas. The best teacher of immigrants is the one who reaches her pupils through the heart as well as through the head. To do this she must know racial backgrounds and spiritual heritages. Courses in history, anthropology, and allied subjects should be included in a program of work intended to train teachers along broad lines. Such courses the college instructor may give. Beyond this, it must be remembered that the teaching of immigrants, especially in the initial steps, is a highly specialized and difficult art

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which requires skill. Training for this skill should form a part of every teacher-training course of this kind; otherwise we shall have a continuance of those very disappointing teaching performances that have so long characterized immigrant classrooms. It should be pointed out, further, that if this practical side of the task is dealt with in an Americanization course, it should be presented by some one who has had first-hand contact with this special type of instruction. No teacher of English, for instance, either in normal school or college, who lacks this contact, can instruct individuals who are to teach English to our immigrant neighbors.

CO-ORDINATION OF TRAINING AGENCIES

The task is to offer preparation to two classes of people: (1) leaders and organizers; (2) teachers of immigrants and of adult illiterates in all the several types of classes that may be operated. It should be worked out by the following agencies: (1) the Federal Bureau of Education; (2) state departments of education; (3) universities and colleges; (4) city and state normal schools and colleges.

The special function of the Federal Bureau of Education is the stimulation of teacher training everywhere. Recent developments would seem to indicate that this bureau is keenly alive to its responsibilities in this field. The national conference of Americanization workers held in Washington in May, 1919, gave strong assurance that Federal leadership might be expected. The

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passage of the Kenyon bill or of the Smith-Towner bill, now before Congress, would make this assurance a guaranty. The millions of dollars which would be distributed among normal schools under the terms of these acts would solve the teacher-training problem at an early date; such financial assistance is the one thing most needed at this time. Apart from this, however, the Federal bureau has still the obligation of organizing teacher-training activities throughout the country. It should also be a clearing house from which bulletins should emanate from time to time, setting forth the latest and best experiments in teacher training.

The special function of state departments of education as teacher-training agencies should be the organization of teachers' institutes for the benefit of teachers in service. Acting in co-operation with normal schools and with local authorities, these agencies should determine the character of extension courses of various kinds, their length, the requirements for admission, the basis for certifying teachers, and like matters. State departments of education should furnish instructors capable of conducting such courses when called upon to do so, and should give assistance, through staffs of experts, to communities too small to engage expert supervision. Finally, such departments should from time to time investigate and report upon progress in the training of teachers for Americanization work, and take measures to encourage provision for such training in institutions and localities where it is not given.

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The special and more important function of universities and colleges, both in their regular courses and through the medium of summer and extension work, is that of training men and women for leadership in Americanization activities. Everywhere it is recognized that Americanization is something very much larger than the task of teaching English or civics. There is a crying need in this field for people of wide vision, broad sympathies, and a clear knowledge of what Americanization is. As has been indicated above, several of our universities have seen the larger need, and are already responding to it. The more specialized task of training teachers for work in the classrooms may well be included in this function, but only when the resources and equipment of the institution make this possible.

Normal schools and colleges should offer at least one full Americanization course as part of the undergraduate work of such teachers as wish to become specialists in this field. Observation and practice work should be included; twenty-four hours of such work should constitute a minimum requirement. In addition, normal schools should regard it as their function to conduct (in co-operation with state or local educational authorities) Saturday courses, summer courses, and other courses of the short-unit type.

OUTLINE OF A COURSE

It is possible to suggest sections in a course in Americanization. Obviously it can do no more than hint at the topics that should be

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included. A short-unit course of ten lessons, for instance, intended to enable a factory foreman to handle a class in an industrial plant, must necessarily gloss over very hurriedly the topics in Sections I and II, and emphasize the topics in Section IV. On the other hand, the college or university may with profit offer several different courses on the material suggested in Sections II and III. So, too, a state department of education might well offer an extension course of ten lectures and discussions covering only the subject of immigrant backgrounds. It is impossible to suggest a fixed course that would meet equally the various needs of various situations; the intention is simply to indicate the general scope of any one full course that might be given, for instance, in a normal school.

The outline given below of a teacher-training course is intended to cover at least thirty hours of classroom work, and twenty-four hours of observation and practice.

SECTION I

SCOPE, ORGANIZATION, AND MEANING OF THE AMERICANIZATION MOVEMENT

(Lectures, reports, and discussions)

- (a) *The immigrant tide, 1890-1915.*—Significant statistics; Causes of the ebb and flow; Attempts to handle the problem during this period; The evening schools, their accomplishments and failures; The contributions of various private agencies; The lack of public interest and public support.
- (b) *Beginning and development of the Americanization movement.*—"America First" campaigns, as in Roches-

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ter, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, and other places; Americanization as affected by the war; The activities of State Councils of National Defense; Formulation of Federal, state, and city plans and campaigns; Contributions of semipublic agencies—National Americanization Committee, United States Chamber of Commerce, North American Civic League for Immigrants, Immigrant Aid Society, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Inter-Racial Council, etc.; Analysis of Americanization legislation operating and pending.

- (c) *Fundamental policies and viewpoints.*—Importance of guidance and control by public authorities; Legitimate functions and activities of various nonpublic agencies; Larger aspects of the Americanization movement; Americanization and the schooling question; The policy of compulsory Americanization; The foreign-language question; Foreign-language press and school; Americanization and our native born—Who is the good citizen? (see Section III); The immigrant an asset or a liability.
- (d) *Industrial Americanization.*—What has been accomplished in this field; Place of industrial Americanization in the general scheme; Broader phases of industrial Americanization: accident prevention, health, recreation, etc.
- (e) *Americanizing the immigrant woman.*—Home and mothers' classes; The California Plan; Activities of women's clubs in this field; Council of Jewish Women; International Institute of the Y. W. C. A.; Women's Municipal League (Boston); Difficulties encountered, and points of view that should obtain.
- (f) *Americanization and the community.*—Americanization through activities of immigrant groups; The community-center idea; community singing, pageantry, and public celebrations; Americanization and the housing problem; Americanization and the

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school nurse; Legal aid for the immigrant; Americanization and the public library, etc.

SECTION II

IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS

(Lectures, book reviews, and discussions)

- (a) *Racial characteristics and contributions.*—Statistics showing the adaptability of the different races to the process of assimilation; Illiteracy as a factor in assimilation.
- (b) *Americanization as affected by political and economic conditions in the home country.*—Importance of a knowledge of the immigrant's point of view; The approach to the immigrant; Racial ideals and heritages, and how to deal with them; The question of naturalization.
- (c) *Literature of this subject.*

SECTION III

AMERICANISM: WHAT IS IT?

(Lectures, discussions, and book reviews)

- (a) *American ideals, beliefs, attitudes, and points of view.*—An analysis in terms that touch the immigrant's experience; American Democracy: its promise and its perils; The "land of promise"; The privileges and opportunities, the duties and obligations of the good citizen; The meaning of "equality"; The need of capable leaders and intelligent followers; The principle of majority rule; The ideal of obedience to lawful authority; The habit of co-operation.
- (b) *Survey of the literature setting forth the ideals of Americanism.*

SECTION IV

THE IMMIGRANT IN THE SCHOOL

(Lectures, conferences, and practice teaching)

- (a) *Aims, methods, and materials in the teaching of English.*—Place of conversation, reading, and writing;

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Criticism and evaluation of the several methods now commonly used, Principles underlying the selection of content, and the adaptation of content to the needs of different types of classes; Strength and weaknesses of texts commonly used; Organization of lesson material, Special methods in reading, phonics, writing.

- (b) *Important teaching principles applied.*—Direct *vs.* indirect method; Teaching by drill; Class activity *vs.* teacher activity, Reaching the immigrant's heart; Socializing instruction; Project method *vs.* class method.
- (c) *Organization of classes.*—Bases for classification, by nationality, sex, etc.; How to get attendance, and how to hold it; Fruitful publicity; Number of sessions; Suggested standards of achievement; Time schedules.
- (d) *Aims, methods, and materials in intermediate and advanced classes.*—Textbooks analyzed and criticized; Inculcating Americanism through history, through civics, through participation in school and community activities, through readings, lectures, and motion pictures, through geography; The socialized school; The school center; Training in citizenship looking toward naturalization.
- (e) *The teaching force.*—Who is the good teacher of the adult immigrant? Personality and attitude; Knowledge of Americanism and loyalty to its ideals; Special preparation for the task; Application of good teaching principles.

IX

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TRAINING for citizenship is the ultimate end and the sole justification of the expenditure for education of public moneys raised by taxation. To insure suitable training for citizenship for those growing up within the nation, public schools have been established throughout the country under the provisions of state constitutions and statute laws. Previous to 1915, however, little provision was made either constitutionally or by statute to insure suitable training for citizenship to foreign-born residents. To be sure, foreign-born children of compulsory school age have received the same educational advantages as native-born children; present laws have applied to both alike. On the other hand, compulsory-school-attendance laws in many states have not been adequately enforced, and in several states compulsory-school-attendance laws are of comparatively recent enactment.

SLOW SPREAD OF COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE

The following list taken from the bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education, and revised to 1919, indicates the year in which initial com-

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pulsory-attendance laws were enacted in the several states:

Massachusetts	1852	Colorado	1889
New York.	1853	Oregon	1889
District of Columbia.	1864	Utah	1890
Vermont	1867	Pennsylvania.	1895
New Hampshire.	1871	Kentucky	1896
Michigan.	1871	Indiana	1897
Washington	1871	West Virginia	1897
Connecticut	1872	Arizona.	1899
New Mexico.	1873	Iowa	1902
Nevada	1873	Maryland.	1902
Kansas	1874	Missouri	1905
California.	1874	Tennessee	1905
Maine	1875	Delaware	1907
New Jersey.	1875	North Carolina.	1907
Wyoming.	1876	Oklahoma.	1907
Ohio.	1877	Virginia	1908
Wisconsin.	1889	Arkansas.	1909
Rhode Island.	1883	Louisiana	1910
Illinois	1883	South Carolina.	1915
Dakota (North and South)	1883	Texas	1915
Montana	1883	Florida	1915
Minnesota	1885	Alabama.	1915
Nebraska.	1887	Georgia	1916
Idaho.	1887	Mississippi.	1918

It is evident from the table that compulsory school attendance has had a very slow growth in public favor, following by many years the establishment of free schools. It took sixty-six years until initial legislation had been enacted in every state of the nation. Even now such legislation in several of the states is not state-wide in its application. In Mississippi, for example, before the law can become operative in a county or independent district, an approving vote of the qualified electors of the district is required; by the law of this state minimum attendance is fixed at sixty days in each year.

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Virginia made its compulsory-attendance requirements state-wide in 1918, but the present law fixes the age limits at eight years and twelve years; the attendance requirement is for at least sixteen weeks each year. It is reported that repeated efforts have been made in the legislature of Maryland to repeal the present compulsory-attendance law. Certain states have yet to make adequate provision for the enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws. The history of such legislation, however, shows steady progress, and presages with certainty greater future progress. The initial step has been taken in every state, and the next advance will require merely additional legislation to extend the scope of existing laws and to render them more effective.

WAR IMPETUS TO CIVIC EDUCATION

It goes without saying that foreign-born children and the children of foreign-born residents of any state have received no more favorable consideration and enjoyed no greater facilities for training in citizenship than have the native born. In certain communities, too, it has been possible for both native and foreign-born children of compulsory school age to satisfy all the requirements of the law by attending schools in which the English language was not taught nor spoken, and in which no attempt was made to foster patriotism. The World War discovered us to ourselves as lacking adequate provision in the public-school system for training in

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citizenship even for our native-born children, and the legislation of recent years evidences a conscious attempt on the part of our lawmakers to include in public-school curriculums courses intended to foster patriotic citizenship.

A number of typical instances of such legislative activity since 1915 may be cited. Connecticut requires the teaching of citizenship in the public schools for pupils above the fourth grade. In Delaware the state Board of Education must prescribe minimum courses of study for elementary and high schools which will include courses in geography, in the history of the United States and of Delaware, and in community civics. Iowa provides that all public and private schools, both elementary and secondary, shall be required to teach the subject of American citizenship. Kansas requires all schools, public, private, or parochial, to provide and give all the pupils a complete course of instruction in civil government, United States history, and courses of patriotism and the duties of a citizen suitable to the elementary grades.

Maine authorizes and appropriates money for a school text in civics, local geography, and local history. Massachusetts provides for training in the duties of citizenship in the public schools. Michigan requires teachers to read the Declaration of Independence on February 12th, February 22d, and October 12th, to pupils above the fifth grade; as part of the eighth-grade examination for diploma, pupils in this state are required to recite from memory the first stanza of the

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"Star-spangled Banner" and all of "America." Minnesota provides that on one day each week time not to exceed a half hour shall be devoted to patriotic exercises in all public schools.

Nebraska provides that all public, private, denominational, and parochial schools shall give in the proper grades such courses in American history and in civil government, both state and national, as will give the pupils a thorough knowledge of the history of our country and its institutions and of our form of government, and shall conduct such patriotic exercises as may be prescribed from time to time by the state superintendent. Nevada provides for civic training in the high schools.

New Jersey requires that there shall be given in each high school a course of study in community civics and a course of study in American democracy, and in the elementary grades a course of study in the history, geography, and civics of New Jersey, such courses to be prescribed by the Commissioner of Education and given together with instructions as to the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship as they relate to community and national welfare, with the object of producing the highest type of patriotic citizenship. The state of New York requires "instruction in patriotism" in all schools, both public and private. Ohio requires study of American government and citizenship in seventh and eighth grades of all schools, public, private, and parochial. Pennsylvania requires in every public elementary school such instruction conducive to

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the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the state and national governments as the board of school directors in any district, with the approval of the proper superintendent of schools, may prescribe.

South Dakota provides that in all educational institutions in the state, whether public or private, one hour each week in the aggregate shall be devoted to the "teaching of patriotism" and the singing of patriotic songs, reading of patriotic addresses, and study of the lives of our great American patriots. Texas requires in its public schools instruction in the history of Texas, and also requires every public-school teacher to devote at least ten minutes each school day to instruction designed to inculcate "intelligent patriotism." The state of Washington requires in its public schools, at least once a week, appropriate flag exercises, at which pupils shall salute the flag and recite the pledge of allegiance, and prescribes a course of study in American history and American government as a prerequisite to graduation from its high schools.

War conditions have likewise given impetus to laws requiring the display of the United States flag on or near school buildings, and patriotic exercises and instruction as part of school curriculums. There are less than a dozen states which do not legally require display of the flag on or near school buildings,¹ and recent enactments would indicate that all states will soon require such display. Local communities have nearly everywhere, during the stress of war, em-

¹ United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 13 (1919), p. 31

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phasized and made special provisions for fostering patriotism—a striking example of local initiative in this direction is the Lawrence plan, discussed in Chapter III.

ENGLISH THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Another example of the impulse given to school legislation by war conditions is the enactment of laws designed to make English the language of instruction in elementary subjects. While it is true that in many states English had been designated by law as the language of instruction, it is also true that in numerous instances no attempt was made to enforce this requirement. It is true, likewise, that in many states no such laws had been enacted and that in certain states the laws requiring that English be used as the basic language of instruction either did not include instruction given in private, parochial, and denominational schools or were disregarded with impunity. The enactments of 1918-19 reflect an aroused sentiment crystallized by legislatures in laws specifying that English shall be the basic language of instruction in all elementary schools, public and private. Such laws were passed in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, and West Virginia.

Delaware requires that English shall be the only language employed and taught in the first

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six grades of the elementary schools of and in the state, and provides that in case this provision is violated by individuals or by private educational associations, corporations, or institutions the state Board of Education shall take such legal action as will enjoin such violation.

Certain states prohibit the teaching of a foreign language in the elementary grades of all schools. Others permit the use of a foreign language as a subject of instruction. Some states require the exclusive use of English at all times in grades below the high school; others require that English shall be the language of instruction in subjects placed in the curriculum by legal requirement. Certain states specifically exclude German from all schools. New Hampshire provides that English shall be the language of instruction in required subjects and the language of general administration, but permits the conduct of devotional exercises in private schools in a language other than English.

COERCION CARRIED TO EXTREME

It must be apparent from the trend of recent legislation that there can henceforth be no question that it is the will of the people that no child in America shall be deprived of the opportunity of learning the language of America. There is, however, a serious question as to whether certain states have not manifested a tendency to go too far in this direction. The absolute prohibition of the teaching of German

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in any school—elementary or high school or college—is an instance of mistaken patriotic zeal. It must be remembered that many of the recent enactments were the progeny of war legislatures, acting under the stress of war conditions and keenly responsive to war-inflamed public opinion. War conditions are rarely likely to call forth the best type of permanent legislation, and it is quite probable that future legislatures will face the task of repealing or modifying enactments which have sprung from the mistaken zeal of present lawmakers and which violate the spirit of American democracy.

The laws enacted in certain states prohibiting instruction in a foreign language in any grade below the high school are in direct contradiction of the judgment of educators, who are generally agreed that instruction in modern foreign languages should begin not later than the seventh grade. One of the greatest advances made in school organization in recent years is the introduction of the intermediate or junior high school, and one of the strongest arguments in favor of its curriculum is that children should be taught to use a foreign tongue while they are still in a formative period of their development, and before it is too late for them to master the finer shades of correct pronunciation and inflection. Laws prohibiting the use of a foreign language in grades below the high school not only violate all the canons of modern pedagogy but are also in a certain sense undemocratic, un-American. In addition to depriving native-born children

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of the opportunity of studying French, or Italian, or Spanish, or German, at the age when a mastery of foreign idiom and pronunciation is most naturally and readily acquired, such laws are an unmerited affront to countless foreign-born, public-spirited, patriotic citizens. Is a man a better American if he forgets the land of his birth and if he deprives his children of all knowledge of the traditions, art, literature, culture, and language of his forbears? Surely such a standpoint has no place in true Americanism.

There can, of course, be no question as to the right and duty of the state to see to it that all children receive adequate instruction in the English language and in the history, government, institutions, and ideals of the United States, and all laws designed to make such instruction obligatory on all schools of whatever character are highly commendable, but the absolute prohibition of the use of a foreign tongue under any circumstances in grades below the high school savors of the dictatorship exercised in an autocratic state and can scarcely hope to win approval in the ultimate tribunal of democracy—public opinion.

Many such laws likewise have been un-American in the spirit which engendered them; a spirit in the sponsors of doubt and distrust toward fellow citizens, a spirit which prompted public condemnation without a hearing of a large portion of the foreign-born element of the population, a spirit which arrogated to native-

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born Americans all that there is of patriotism and loyalty.

Laws are interpreted in accordance with the apparent intent of the legislatures which enacted them, and in many cases it is almost impossible to grasp the full significance of a law unless the conditions surrounding its enactment are thoroughly understood. The statutes themselves, however, often give a clew to the motives which actuated their makers. In this connection it may be interesting to compare the recent statutes of Nebraska and New Hampshire.

CONTRAST OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND NEBRASKA

New Hampshire has passed very comprehensive educational legislation, while Nebraska has enacted very drastic measures; the legislation in both states was prompted in large measure by the activities and recommendations of the state councils of defense.

The following regulations regarding the use of the English language were set up in New Hampshire under an act "in amendment of the laws relating to the public schools, and establishing a state Board of Education," approved March 28, 1919:¹

1. In the instruction of children in all schools, including private schools, in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, physiology, history, civil government, music, and drawing, the English language shall be used exclusively, both for the purpose of instruction therein and for purposes of general administration.

¹ Act of March 28, 1919, Sec 13

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2. The exclusive use of English for purposes of instruction and administration is not intended to prohibit the conduct of devotional exercise in private schools in a language other than English.

3. A foreign language may be taught in elementary schools provided the course of study (or its equivalent) outlined by the state Board of Education in the common English branches—that is, in reading, writing, history, civil government, music, and drawing—be not abridged, but be taught in compliance with the law of the state.

In Nebraska, “an act relating to the teaching of foreign languages in the state of Nebraska” imposed the following restrictions:¹

No person, individually, or as a teacher, shall, in any private, denominational, parochial, or public school, teach any subject to any person in any other language than the English language [sec. 1].

Languages other than the English language may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides [sec. 2].

Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five (25) dollars, nor more than one hundred (100) dollars, or be confined in the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offense [sec. 3].

Whereas an emergency exists, this act shall be in force from and after its passage and approval [sec. 4].

Something of the spirit and attitude of the legislators, and something of the atmosphere and conditions in the respective states, may be gathered in an examination of current legislation and

¹ Senate File No. 24 (1919), Chap. 249.

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of the circumstances attending the enactment of the laws above mentioned. The foreign-born population of New Hampshire, according to the census of 1910, constituted 22.5 per cent of all the inhabitants of the state. New Hampshire has had to deal with a most delicate situation in the matter of its parochial schools. Most of the parochial schools are French, and no nationality is more tenacious of its traditions and language; moreover, religious considerations were inseparably bound up with the language question. The state Council of Defense was most careful to secure the co-operation of the authorities of the Catholic Church, and the letter of Bishop Guerin, published in Chapter IV, evidences the finest spirit of co-operation. That a policy of co-operation need not mean compromise or militate against efficiency is apparent from the resolutions unanimously adopted by the state Board of Education of New Hampshire on October 15, 1919, as follows:

WHEREAS, Under existing laws the legal duty of the board will not be performed unless all children of school age in the state have an opportunity to obtain a sound common-school education and avail themselves of such opportunity.

Resolved, That the approval of the board shall not be given to any private school which does not comply with the following requirements:

An approved private school must (1) provide instruction and other educational opportunities as nearly equal as may be reasonably possible to those given in the public schools in the same city or town; (2) be maintained for thirty-six weeks in each year, at least five hours a day, and five days a week, in a sanitary building; (3) be equipped with

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reasonably suitable furniture, books, maps, and other necessary appliances; (4) make the reports required of public schools of the same grade on forms provided by the board; (5) teach substantially the same subjects as those prescribed by the board for the public schools of similar grade; (6) use the English language as the basic language of instruction and administration as prescribed by Laws of 1919, Chap. 106, sec. 13; (7) be carried on in such a manner as to effectively prepare the pupils for the exercise of the rights and the discharge of the duties of American citizenship, and from the teaching of the prescribed studies produce educational results substantially equivalent to those produced by the teaching of the same studies in the public schools.

Resolved, Further, that it is the legal duty of the board to revoke its approval of any private school if, and whenever, it fails to comply with the foregoing requirements.

The foreign-born population of Nebraska, according to the census of 1910, was 14.8 per cent of all its inhabitants. The population of the state is largely German, and German Lutheran and Catholic parochial schools flourished. The following excerpt from an article on the important changes in Nebraska's school laws, by G. W. Luckey, of Lincoln, Nebraska, in the *Educational Review* of September, 1919, depicts conditions attending the enactment of the recent legislation and indicates the present trend of saner and calmer judgment:

The state legislature was selected as a war legislature, and the good-intentioned but meaningless or undefinable term Americanization played an important, if not determining, part in the election and subsequent legislation. The mistaken judgment in selecting the membership of the state Council of Defense, and the disappointing judgment of that body in arraigning and publicly condemning as dis-

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loyal, without a hearing, many wholly upright, public-spirited citizens, added materially to the confusion. The council's action in condemning the schools of the state, including the state university, as unpatriotic and seditious, caught the regents off guard or found them willing participants, and cost the position and professional career of several innocent professors of undoubted integrity and the highest patriotism. By members of the same body Nebraska had been accused of being a hotbed of sedition, though careful students of social conditions have felt that no state (the large foreign element—47 per cent of first and second generation—included) has shown more genuine patriotism and dynamic loyalty. All these disturbances were reflected in one way or another in the state election and the legislation that followed. Hence it is but natural to expect the enactment of some provisions that will not bear the tests of the courts nor the supreme authority of democracy—the expressed will of the people.

An indication of the extremes to which Nebraska went on the question of the exclusive use of the English language may be gathered from a reading of the following act, which was passed at the same session of the legislature as the regulations reproduced above:¹

Hereafter all public meetings held within the state of Nebraska, meetings held in compliance with the provisions of the Nebraska statutes, political meetings or conventions, whether delegate or otherwise, and all meetings or conventions the purpose and object of which are the consideration and discussion of political or nonpolitical subjects or questions of general interest, or relating to the well-being of any class or organization in the state of Nebraska, or for the indorsement or rejection of any candidate, law, or measure to be voted upon at any election within said state, shall be conducted in the English language exclusively; providing

¹ Senate File No. 237, Acts of 1919, Chap. 234.

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the provisions of this act shall not apply to meetings or conventions held for the purpose of religious teachings, instruction, or worship, or lodge organizations [sec. 1].

Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars [sec. 2].

This law would grant to a secret lodge or society rights or privileges which it denies to legitimate assemblies of a more democratic character. It would seem to indicate a spirit of class distinction, class suspicion, class antagonism, a spirit which does violence to the bedrock principles of Americanism.

Indiana leaves open the question of the constitutionality of sections of a new law, which forbids the teaching of German in any schools of elementary grade, and which requires the exclusive use of English in the first eight grades in all schools, public, private, and parochial. Section 5 of this act reads:¹

In case any section or sections of this act shall be held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Indiana, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining sections.

RIGHTS OF PRIVATE EDUCATION

Acts designed to establish the English language exclusively as the medium of instruction failed of passage in certain states, including the New England states of Vermont and Connecticut. In the state of Washington one of the most promi-

¹ Acts of 1919, Chap. 18.

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nent educators, who advocated prohibiting the use of any foreign language in public or private schools, is reported to have advanced as an argument in support of his position the fact that the Japanese language was being taught after school hours in certain private schools. The bill proposing this restriction failed of passage, and properly so, if its main purpose was not so much to insure the teaching of English in regular school hours as to prevent children of foreign-born residents from learning the language of their fathers during hours when the day schools had no claim upon them. The doctrine that private schools have no rights under our laws is a denial of the very notion of our democracy. But the doctrine that the state has no rights regarding private schools is equally subversive of the principles of democracy.

In Massachusetts there has long been a provision in the Revised Laws relating to public instruction, which stipulates: ¹

For the purposes of this section, school committees shall approve a private school only when all the instruction in all the studies required by law is in the English language, and when they are satisfied that such instruction equals in thoroughness and efficiency and in the progress made therein the instruction in the public schools in the same city or town, but they shall not refuse to approve a private school on account of the religious teaching therein.

Among other measures introduced in the last legislature by the Recess Commission on Education was a bill for reorganizing the state Board

¹ Revised Laws, Chap. 44, Sec. 1.

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of Education and defining the duties of the state board and of the state Commissioner of Education. Included among the duties to be assigned to the Commissioner of Education was the following:

It shall be his duty to see that the requirements of Sec. 2, Chap. 44, of the Revised Laws as amended with reference to the approval of private schools by school committees, are enforced.

The bill was referred to the Committee on Education, and at the public hearings of the committee the adoption of this section was opposed by numerous persons interested in the welfare of parochial schools, on the ground that such an arrangement would result in too great a centralization of authority in the hands of the commissioner, and would work a hardship on parochial schools. The Committee on Education reported the following amendment to this section:

It shall be his duty to secure from local school committees, and it shall be their duty to make to him, such report or reports as will give adequate information relative to the fulfillment of the requirements of Sec. 2, Chap. 44, of the Revised Laws as amended with reference to the approval of private schools by the local school committees.

So strong was the opposition of certain officials connected with parochial schools and their supporters that the entire bill for reorganization of the state Board of Education failed of passage. The result, however, of opposition based on fear of centralization of authority was that a different form of reorganization of the state Board of

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Education was ordered by the legislature, making for far greater centralization than the original plan. It provided that the Commissioner of Education should be appointed directly by the governor rather than elected by the Board of Education, thus making his selection a political matter and bringing back the custom against which Horace Mann worked so effectively. The new law makes the Board of Education an advisory board, and gives far more authority to the commissioner than has ever been given to this official in the history of the commonwealth. Massachusetts is essentially a town-meeting state and adheres most strongly of all the states to the doctrine of local autonomy. The tendency of legislatures throughout the nation is to give increased recognition and emphasis to the rights and duties of the states in the matter of education. There is, of course, danger that this tendency may be carried to extremes. State control of education may easily degenerate into a bureaucratic domination which spells inefficiency, waste, and stagnation. Local autonomy in education, on the other hand, often works an injustice to poorer communities and prevents anything approaching equalization of educational opportunity. The solution of the problem lies in neither extreme; home rule to the detriment of part of the communities is equally as intolerable as state domination which stifles local initiative.

Massachusetts might well have taken a leaf from the experience of New Hampshire. Had

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a policy of co-operation been adopted before the report of the Recess Commission on Education, much needless acrimony on the part of supporters of parochial schools might have been avoided.

The attitude of Bishop McDevitt of Harrisburg is referred to in Chapter IV, and the following excerpt from the address of Rev. John O'Grady, representative of the National Catholic War Council at the Americanization Conference of the U. S. Bureau of Education in Washington in May, 1919, indicates the attitude on immigrant education taken by the bishops comprising the National Catholic War Council:

All schools should be required to conduct their classes in English. They should, however, not be prevented from teaching a foreign language if they so desire. . . .

The citizenship program being published under the auspices of the Reconstruction Committee of the National Catholic War Council, recognizes that a knowledge of the English language is the first step on the way to citizenship. We also recognize that without concrete instruction in civics the process of adjustment partially fails. . . .

In order to teach the immigrants religion, human rights, and the fundamentals of citizenship, the church has been compelled to adjust itself to their languages and their racial ideas. Very few Americans appreciate the difficulty under which the church has labored in this regard. If it had antagonized the immigrants in matters of language and of race, as many would-be Americanizers have done, it would have been compelled to sacrifice the many other good things which it has done for them. We are only too glad to have the government save us the embarrassment of having to solve the language question.

Summarizing the trend of legislation affecting children of compulsory-school-attendance age,

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it seems obvious that henceforth all states will insist upon a gradually lengthening term of compulsory attendance and upon adequate instruction in the English language and in the history, government, and institutions of the United States. In general, it may be said that all children, native and foreign-born, will be assured something approaching adequate preparation for citizenship.

The upper limit of the compulsory-school-attendance period varies in the different states, and ranges anywhere from the age of twelve to the age of eighteen. There is evidenced, however, a steadily developing force of public opinion favorable to extending the upper limit at least to the age of sixteen. The "legal school age period" likewise varies in the different states. In general, it begins at the ages between five and eight, and ends at the ages between seventeen and twenty-one, and defines the ages of eligibility to all the public-school facilities.

COMPULSION FOR THE ILLITERATE MINOR

Very little legislation providing for training in citizenship which would affect children falling in age between the upper limits of compulsory attendance and the maximum legal school age is even now in effect in any of the states. Prior to 1915 Massachusetts had long been the sole exception to the general rule. For over thirty years this state has required the attendance at evening schools of all minors who are illiterate in English. The standard of literacy pre-

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scribed for exemption from evening-school attendance has been, since 1913, such ability to read and write English as is required for promotion through the fourth grade. In 1919 the standard was raised so as to require completion of the sixth grade. Under the present law no illiterate minor between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one may be retained in employment who does not submit to his employer a weekly report showing that he has been regular in attendance at evening school. The legislature of 1916 exempted married women from the requirements of this law.¹

While Massachusetts has done more than any other state to eliminate illiteracy among inhabitants under twenty-one years of age, there is still considerable room for improvement both in the law itself and in its enforcement. The employment laws² are not as broad in their application as the compulsory-school-attendance laws, in that the former include only factories, workshops, manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishments, and that in court cases judges have been loath to exercise jurisdiction or enforce penalties for offenses beyond the purview of the sections of the law which regulate employment.

There is nothing in the school-attendance laws of the state which fixes a minimum term for evening schools or which provides for adequate standards of evening-school instruction. No penalty is imposed upon communities which neglect to maintain evening schools, thereby

¹ Appendix, p 387.

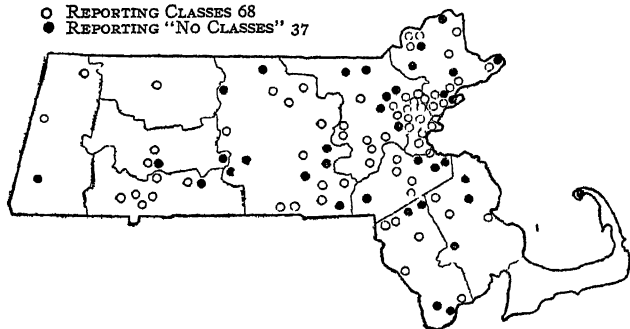
² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

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transgressing a specific state law. In the year 1914-15, according to returns made to the United States Bureau of Education, 23 communities in Massachusetts having over 5,000 inhabitants, including over 1,000 foreign-born white persons, failed to establish evening schools, and of these communities 3 had over 10,000 inhabitants, while 1 had a population of which 47 per cent were foreign-born white persons. These population figures are based on the census

MAP 4.—PLACES HAVING OVER 1,000 FOREIGN BORN IN 1910
REPORTING PUBLIC CLASSES IN 1918-19 IN MASSACHUSETTS

- REPORTING CLASSES 68
- REPORTING "NO CLASSES" 37

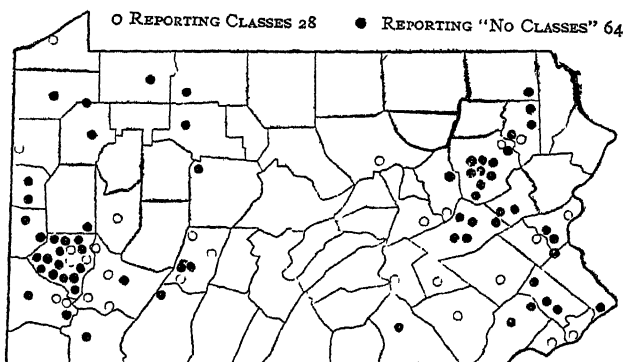


of 1910. The returns submitted to the Massachusetts Board of Education for the year 1918-19 showed that 36 communities with populations of over 5,000, including 1,000 foreign-born white persons, failed to establish evening schools, and of these 3 had over 10,000 inhabitants. Of 125 cities and towns having a foreign-born population of over 1,000, there were 8 which did not maintain evening schools. These population figures are based on the Mas-

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sachusetts census of 1915. Map 4 shows the cities and towns having over 1,000 foreign-born residents in 1910 which did or did not maintain evening schools in 1918-19. A corresponding map (Map 5) of Pennsylvania contrasts the small provision in an immigrant state with no adequate law. Population as of 1910 is used for the maps in order to make the 2 states comparable.

MAP 5.—PLACES HAVING OVER 1,000 FOREIGN BORN IN 1910
REPORTING PUBLIC CLASSES IN 1918-19 IN PENNSYLVANIA



Another serious defect in the Massachusetts law is that it contains no provision for state aid, although many of the communities find it difficult, if not impossible, to support evening schools. It is rather interesting in this connection to note that the legislature of 1919 obligated the state to reimburse communities for one-half the cost of maintenance of evening schools for non-English-speaking persons, yet it confines such expenditure to reimbursement for main-

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taining classes for persons over twenty-one years of age, whose attendance at school is wholly voluntary, and for whom communities are not compelled to provide schools, and it utterly ignores classes for persons between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, whose attendance is compulsory and for whom communities must provide schools under the provisions of the law above mentioned.

In 1918 New York passed measures requiring the attendance at day or evening school, or at some school maintained by an employer, of all minors between sixteen and twenty-one years of age who do not possess such ability to speak, read, and write the English language as is required for the completion of the fifth-grade work. But New York is only now beginning to arrange for the enforcement of the compulsory-attendance features of this law.

At the special session of the legislature in 1918 Wisconsin amended its laws relating to public schools so as to provide that every illiterate minor over seventeen years of age must, in order to secure or retain employment, be a regular attendant at public evening school when the city, town, or village in which the illiterate minor resides maintains a public evening school.

Laws providing for the compulsory attendance of illiterate minors between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, practically similar to those of New York and Massachusetts, were enacted in 1919 in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and South Dakota. California, which has a continuation-

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school requirement for persons between fourteen and eighteen years of age, provides that all persons over eighteen and under twenty-one years of age who cannot speak, read, or write the English language to a degree of proficiency equal to that required for the completion of the sixth-grade work of the elementary schools of the state, and who are not attending a public or private full-time day school, must attend for at least four sixty-minute hours per week, a special day or evening class maintained by a high-school district for persons who cannot speak, read, or write the English language. Utah included minors in its legislation, which requires that every alien person between the ages of sixteen and forty-five years residing in the state—except those who may be physically or mentally disqualified—who does not possess such ability to speak, read, and write the English language as is required for the completion of the fifth-grade work of the public schools of the state, shall attend a public evening-school class for at least four hours a week during the entire time in which an evening-school class of the proper grade shall be in session in that district within two and one-half miles of his place of residence, or until the necessary ability has been acquired.

With all the agitation of the past few years in favor of providing for the education of the foreign born, it would hardly seem possible that so few states should have enacted compulsory-school-attendance laws for illiterates between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. The situation,

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however, is not so distressing as it would appear. In the first place, immigration has practically ceased since 1914. An illiterate immigrant who was sixteen years old in 1914 is now twenty-one, and consequently would, because of the mere lapse of years, fail to come within the scope of the law. Many illiterates succeed in passing the literacy test and thus escape the requirements of the law. In the evening schools of Boston in the year 1914-15, over five hundred illiterate minors between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were enrolled. In the year 1918-19, three hundred and sixty-seven were enrolled, and for the year 1919-20, it has been estimated that not more than two hundred will be enrolled, though Boston has probably the most elaborate and effective method of insuring the registration of illiterate minors in evening schools.

The chief value of compulsory-attendance laws for illiterate minors is, first, that they lead to a realization that such laws should have been enacted by the principal immigrant states at least a decade ago, and second, that they assure an adequate state of preparedness with respect to the illiterate minors of the new immigration which is to come. If the number of immigrant arrivals under twenty-one years of age should even approximate the normal pre-war numbers, it would seem desirable and almost necessary, both for the state and for the immigrant, that a command of the English language and a knowledge of American institutions, ways, and customs on the part of the immigrant should not

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be left to chance, but be secured and safeguarded by compulsory-school-attendance laws.

A number of states have raised their standards of literacy from the fourth-grade to fifth-grade final requirements, and two states, California and Massachusetts, sixth-grade level. Attendance in some states is not limited to evening-school classes alone. The New York state law on this point reads:¹

Any employer may meet the requirements of this act by conducting a class or classes for teaching English or civics to foreign born, in shop, store, plant, or factory, under the supervision of the local school authorities, and any minor subject to the provisions of this act may satisfy the requirements by attendance upon such classes.

Rhode Island accepts, as constituting compliance with its law, attendance at day continuation or evening schools in shops and factories, provided such schools are under the control and supervision of the school committee. It also accepts, in lieu of attendance at public schools, attendance at private schools or private instruction in the English language, provided the private instruction is approved by the school committee as substantially equivalent in content, method, and hours of instruction, to the instruction offered in the public schools.

PROVISION BEYOND TWENTY-ONE

There is scarcely any legislation applying to illiterate persons over twenty-one years of age. Utah is the only state which has enacted a com-

¹ Laws of 1918, Chap. 445, Sec. 637, No. 5.

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pulsory-attendance law for such persons; under its provisions persons between sixteen and forty-five years of age are compelled to attend a public day school or a part-time or evening school. A similar bill, which would have required the attendance at evening school of "every person above the age of fourteen who does not possess such ability to speak, read, and write the English language as is required for the completion of the fifth grade of the public schools of the state," was introduced in the legislature in Wyoming; it passed both houses, but was vetoed by the governor on the ground that it was unconstitutional in providing for the compulsory school attendance of persons over twenty-one years of age. Such a bill was introduced in Massachusetts, but the compulsory-attendance feature was eliminated by the Committee on Education.

In other states constitutional provisions seem to operate against the establishment of evening schools for adults—*e.g.*, in all states in which the school fund is distributed on the basis of the number of children of legal school age in the respective communities, it is clear that such evening schools can be established and maintained only through the support by the local boards or committees. The following states must depend entirely on local support of evening schools for adults because of their constitutional provisions: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Wyoming.

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In addition to constitutional limitations, statute laws in certain states prohibit the attendance at evening schools of persons over twenty-one years of age. On the other hand, certain state laws, while not imposing compulsory attendance, nevertheless make the establishment of evening schools either mandatory under prescribed conditions or permissive at the discretion of local boards of education.

STATE LAWS FOR NIGHT SCHOOLS

Connecticut has long had a mandatory provision requiring every town with a population of 10,000 or over to establish and maintain evening schools. The legislature of 1919 provided that working illiterate minors between fourteen and sixteen years of age be required to attend such evening schools for not less than eight hours each week, for a period of not less than sixteen weeks. Laws making the establishment and maintenance of evening schools mandatory under prescribed conditions are found in the following states, which are not among the states providing for the compulsory attendance of illiterate minors between sixteen and twenty-one years of age: Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Washington.

The conditions under which the boards of education are required to establish evening schools vary in the different states. In Kansas and in Pennsylvania the laws require application from the parents or guardians of pupils over fourteen

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years of age, and so would seem to indicate that such schools are intended for minors. In North Dakota and Iowa an application from ten or more adult persons over sixteen years of age is the necessary condition for the establishment of evening schools. In Nevada a petition of fifteen applicants addressed to the state superintendent is the prescribed condition, and schools opened under this authorization are free to native and foreign-born youths and adults.

The Oklahoma law of 1919 puts emphasis upon training in citizenship as follows:¹

Whereas, The Federal government is working, through the Bureau of Naturalization, in co-operation with the public schools of the entire country to increase their efficiency, and has authorized the free distribution of textbooks for instruction in citizenship responsibilities, it is hereby made incumbent upon the public-school authorities within the state, from and after the passage of this resolution, to organize a class in English and in citizenship instruction whenever they are presented with a petition signed by ten (10) residents of foreign birth over the age of sixteen, requesting the organization of such a class for their instruction in English and in citizenship.

In 1919 Pennsylvania enacted a law for the instruction of foreign-born residents of counties which introduces a rather novel procedure. The law provides that the judges of the court of common pleas may, upon the nomination of the superintendent of schools, appoint instructors for the teaching of citizenship to foreign-born residents of the county, such instructors to be ap-

¹ Chap. 315.

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pointed for a term of not less than one or more than three years at a compensation to be fixed by the court, provided that the number of instructors for each county and their compensation shall not exceed the number and compensation of assistant superintendents of schools of said county.

The small number of the states which have enacted compulsory-attendance laws affecting illiterate minors has already been noted. In view of the small additional number of states in which local boards are required to establish evening schools, the conclusion is inevitable that most of the states are not yet aroused to the importance of the problem of immigrant education and to the necessity of attempting its solution. It is hardly fair to blame the immigrant for his lack of knowledge of the language, customs, traditions, and ideals of America when so little legislative provision exists for affording him an opportunity to overcome his handicaps. Ignorance of our language on the part of immigrants has frequently been held up as the cause of industrial unrest and civic disorder in states where no facilities are provided by law to enable the immigrant to acquire the language or to become familiar with our laws and institutions.

Permissive legislation regarding evening schools is found upon the statute books of many states, but if our experience has proved anything, it is that permissive legislation is practically a failure in solving the problem of the education of the immigrant. Legislation of this sort has been enacted by the following states: Arkansas,

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Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

In Wisconsin, if the local board neglects or refuses to establish night schools, the law requires for the establishment of such schools a petition of 10 per cent of the voters of a school district, followed at the next ensuing election by a majority vote of the district. In Maine a statute governing state aid to towns maintaining manual-training classes in evening schools has been amended so as to provide evening schools for the purpose of Americanization, and also for the purpose of reducing illiteracy.

South Carolina in 1917 amended its law, which then read,¹

It shall not be lawful for any person who is less than six or more than twenty-one years of age to attend any of the free public schools of this state,

by the reservation,

provided, however, that the maximum limit of twenty-one years shall not apply to night schools and persons over that age may attend such night schools.

In Wisconsin the privilege of free tuition does not extend to persons over twenty years of age except with the consent of the local school board; the tuition charge, if there is any, may be nominal, however.

Certain states in which the school age does not extend beyond twenty-one formerly gave

¹ Sec. 1778, Vol. 1, Code of Laws of S. C. of 1912.

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local boards the right to admit adults on payment of tuition, but have since provided that persons over twenty-one may be admitted without tuition charge. Among these states are Colorado, Missouri, Virginia, and West Virginia.

THE SOUTH AWAKENED TO ILLITERACY

So far as training for citizenship is concerned, the native illiterate presents practically the same problem as the immigrant. Both need essentially the same type of instruction for adjustment to civil life; in both cases, the greatest lack is opportunity of training for adults. The immigrants are found largely in the so-called "immigration belt" north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi; the native illiterates predominate in the Southern states. In recent years the Southern states have shown considerable activity in providing facilities for the education of illiterates. Kentucky in 1914 was the first state to authorize an illiteracy commission; Alabama followed in 1915, Mississippi in 1916, Arkansas in 1917, and Georgia in 1919. In the beginning illiteracy commissions were appointed to investigate the problem and attempt its solution without the aid of state appropriations. In 1916 Kentucky appropriated \$5,000 annually for two years for the benefit of the illiteracy commission and to provide for a census of adult illiterates. In 1917 North Carolina and in 1918 Kentucky authorized appropriations of \$25,000 for the removal of illiteracy. In 1919 North Carolina

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took the next forward step. In its act authorizing the establishment of evening schools for adult illiterates it provides that such schools when established shall become a part of the public-school system of the state and shall be supported as other schools of the state are supported; it likewise authorizes the state Board of Education to expend annually, under the direction of the state superintendent of schools, a sum not to exceed \$5,000, for the organization and direction of the work of teaching illiterates. At a special session in 1919 Alabama created a state Board of Education and abolished its illiteracy commission. The state board was to assume the powers and duties of the illiteracy commission, including the expenditure of an appropriation of \$12,500 for the removal of illiteracy.

STATES' SHARE IN THE COST

The method of attack in the Southern states in attempting to eliminate illiteracy typifies in a certain sense the logical procedure with respect to immigrant education. First must come suitable legislation and then adequate state funds, the ideal condition being the fixing of an equal share of the responsibility and of the expense upon state and community. Many of the states fail to assume their just share of the cost of the education of the immigrant. Massachusetts, for example, has compelled illiterate minors (16-21) to attend evening schools and made the establishment and maintenance of evening schools manda-

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tory, and yet has thrust upon the local communities the entire burden of supporting such schools.¹ Its Americanization Act of 1919, however, provides that henceforth the commonwealth shall share equally with the communities the cost of maintaining classes for adult immigrants.

Certain states also fail even now to appreciate their responsibility. Montana in 1919 enacted a measure for the establishment of Americanization schools in several school districts, but provided that none of the funds appropriated should be expended upon persons over twenty-one years of age.

A study of the trend of recent legislation makes it apparent that the greatest advance has been on the side of provision for financial support. California, which is the only state which takes cognizance of evening schools in its constitution, has always maintained such schools as a part of its general school system. State support is allotted on attendance basis, attendance of a pupil at one session at evening school being considered equivalent to attendance at one half-session at day school. Similar provisions are found in the laws of South Carolina and Washington. Maine provides for reimbursement to the extent of two-thirds of the cost of instruction. Vermont considers evening classes as part of the public-school system. Similar provisions are made in Tennessee and Kansas. South Dakota assumes not more than half the cost of the salaries of teachers and the expense of maintenance.

In 1917 Minnesota provided for the payment

¹ Appendix, p. 387.

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of half the salaries of all teachers in the evening schools, and in 1919 in the special session of its legislature appropriated \$12,500 for each of the fiscal years ending July 31, 1920, and July 31, 1921, for public evening schools for adults, to be expended under the direction of the state Board of Education. At the same session of the legislature the boards of education or other school boards in all school districts having over 50,000 inhabitants were authorized to levy "in addition to all other sums for school purposes . . . an amount equal to twenty-five hundredths of one mill on each dollar of the taxable property in the district, for educational work among the immigrants and candidates for naturalization, and for removal of illiteracy."

North Dakota likewise pays half the salaries of all teachers approved by the local superintendents and, in addition, appropriated \$7,000 in 1917 for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of its education law; in 1919 it provided that the cost of evening schools should be borne equally by the local school boards and by the county boards of education. In 1917 Nevada appropriated \$10,000 to pay the salaries of teachers, on the basis of one teacher for every fifteen persons enrolled, such salary to be not more than one dollar per hour of actual teaching and not more than forty dollars per month.

In 1917 New Mexico enacted a statute authorizing the school directors in school districts where there may be ten or more illiterate persons to employ their regular teachers for evening

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courses of instruction for at least one hour each night and to pay such teachers five dollars additional for the first ten pupils and an additional five dollars for any number over and above the first ten students, such compensation to be paid from the same fund from which the regular salaries of teachers are paid.

Arizona in 1918 appropriated \$25,000 for the year ending June 30, 1919, to be apportioned by the state superintendent according to the daily average school attendance in various counties. In 1919 Utah by its Americanization Act authorized the appointment of a director of Americanization, and appropriated \$20,000 for the salaries of teachers and the expenses of supervision.

Connecticut contributes to each town supporting an evening school for at least seventy-five nights four dollars per pupil in the average attendance for this period provided a report is submitted to the board. In 1919 this state appropriated \$50,000 for the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1920, and June 30, 1921, and provided for the establishment of a department of Americanization in the Board of Education and the appointment of a director of this department at a salary of \$3,000, and provided also that the school committee of any town designated by the state board might appoint, subject to the approval of the state board, a town director of Americanization whose compensation should be fixed and paid by the state Board of Education.

In 1918 New York, in connection with its pro-

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visions for immigrant education, appropriated \$20,000 to be expended by the commissioner of education in organizing, maintaining, and operating training institutes for the purpose of training regular public-school teachers and others in the best methods of instructing illiterates over sixteen years of age. In 1919 this state amended its law relating to the instruction of illiterates and appropriated \$100,000 to be expended by the commissioner of education in dividing the state into zones and in appointing directors thereof, with teachers and such other employees as might be necessary to promote and extend educational facilities for the education of illiterates and of non-English-speaking persons.

Ohio in 1919 established an Americanization Committee for the purpose of carrying on the Americanization and patriotic education work begun by the Council of National Defense and of co-operating with the agencies of the Federal government in the study and application of Americanization and patriotic education work in the state. The act was so amended that the Americanization Committee should consist of the Joint Committee on German Propaganda of the Senate and House of Representatives, together with the superintendent of public instruction. The sum of \$25,000 was appropriated for carrying out the purposes of the act, but the duties of the commissioner are so broad in their scope that it is doubtful how much of the appropriation can be devoted directly to the schooling of immigrants.

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In Pennsylvania an act was passed in 1919 continuing the Commission of Public Safety and Defense as the Commission of Public Welfare. Among its other duties the commission is authorized to aid activities for the betterment of social or educational conditions or the securing and preserving to the citizens of the commonwealth the rights and liberties guaranteed under the constitutions of the commonwealth and of the United States. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act the sum of \$500,000, together with any unexpended balance in the treasury, was appropriated. If the entire appropriation were devoted to providing educational facilities for foreign-born persons in Pennsylvania, it would be well spent; but under the broad powers accorded the commission it is impossible to predict how much assistance will be rendered in the education of the immigrant.

In 1919 Delaware appropriated \$15,000 for each of the two years beginning January 1, 1919, and January 1, 1920, to pay for the cost of inaugurating and maintaining classes under the provisions of the Americanization Act, which authorizes school districts in which there are ten or more persons sixteen years of age or over who do not speak the English language and desire to attend classes to establish evening classes. The Massachusetts Acts of 1919 provide for reimbursement of cities and towns for half the cost of classes for adult immigrants. New Hampshire in its act establishing a state board of education provided that an appropria-

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tion of \$162,100 for the year ending August 31, 1920, and \$150,700 for the year ending August 31, 1921, in addition to other funds, should be made for special educational purposes, including the abolition of illiteracy and the Americanization of immigrants.

New Jersey contributes \$80 for each teacher holding a proper certificate and teaching at least sixty-four evenings. It also counts an evening's attendance as a half-day's attendance in determining its per capita allowance based upon attendance. At the option of the local board the state will duplicate the local appropriation for evening classes for foreign-born residents to an amount not to exceed \$5,000 annually. The per capita allowance varies from year to year, as it is apportioned from a lump appropriation.

Rhode Island provides that public evening schools and day continuation schools established under the provisions of its Americanization Act of 1919 shall receive state support from the annual appropriations for evening schools and industrial education. It authorized the appropriation of \$3,000 annually for the purpose of visitation, inspection, and supervision by the state board, and for the purpose of securing such appropriations as may be provided by the Federal government for like purposes, and made a further appropriation of \$2,000 for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1919, for the purpose of carrying the act into effect.

In North Carolina the county boards upon the direction of the state superintendent of public

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instruction are directed to provide annually in the county school budgets the sum necessary to provide for the teaching of adult illiterates in accordance with rules and regulations established by the state board, and a like sum is to be appropriated from the state public-school fund. As noted above, the state board is authorized to expend \$5,000 for the organization and direction of the work of the state illiteracy commission.

PROSPECTS IN AMERICA

While much remains to be done by most of the states in promoting Americanization and in removing illiteracy, a general survey of the recent legislation affecting immigrant education cannot but produce a hopeful impression. At least a fair beginning has been made in most states; many states have taken long strides forward, and the outlook for the future is very promising. States of all sections of the country are beginning to recognize and to assert their rights in respect to training in citizenship. Legislatures are coming into a realization of the duty and necessity of providing more adequately for the education of future citizens. It is not too optimistic to predict that within a decade suitable legislation and adequate funds will be provided in all the states, and that states and communities will then co-operate in furnishing training for citizenship, each sharing equally in the responsibility, each bearing an equal portion of the expense, and each taking equal pride in the result—an intelligent, patriotic citizenry.

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It seems certain that the present tendency in state legislation will lead to much additional legislation in the direction of better training for citizenship. As we have observed, the movement began during the war for the purpose of effecting the solidarity of understanding necessary to win. At the close of the war we had assumed that the serenity of social conditions existing prior to the conflict would automatically return. Had this happened the Americanization movement might have languished. The war was no sooner over than appeared the new unrest, and so unusual in character as to produce greater uncertainty as to the stability of our citizenship than had existed during the war. We now find that the matter of citizenship is no longer a war emergency issue, but is more properly a pressing question of national survival.

With some confidence, then, we may predict that legislation looking toward a better disposed and more intelligent citizenship will be increasingly forthcoming from state and national sources. This legislation can no longer be aimed at one group like that of the alien, but to all the members of our society where the need is known to exist. In a question of national survival the alien is but an incident.

On the whole we look forward to additional legislation of general educational and civic character. The problem of literacy on the part of all elements in our population, the extension of the period of education to higher age limits, better types of educational provision involving more

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varied courses of study, physical and health education, extension of the influence of the state in the standards and character of private education—these are specific projects of educational nature which state and national legislatures may be expected to undertake in the immediate future. We shall see, very likely, specific and extensive legislation upon the character of civic education which shall be required in all schools, public and private. We may also anticipate legislation directed to the better instruction of the non-English-speaking immigrant, legislation of benevolent character, without suspicion or coercion, furnishing the opportunity through self-service for the adult immigrant to get that which has been a closed book in the past.

REQUIRE SCHOOLS BEFORE ATTENDANCE

In looking back over the long history of mandatory school legislation, we find there have been two kinds: the one which was connected with providing schools, and the other which compelled attendance. Simply stated, what happens is this: The establishment of the school is first compulsory upon the community, but the individual is not under compulsion to attend. The opportunity is set up; the provision is made and the individual to be benefited may or may not take advantage of it. In Massachusetts communities were obliged to furnish free schools as early as 1638. Compulsory attendance was not a law until 1853. The same succession of

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have, therefore, included training in citizenship as a corollary to the teaching of English, and have sought ways and means of instructing the immigrant in his public or civic duties. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe and appraise efforts which have already been made in this direction, and to indicate more fully what remains to be done.

The term "citizenship" has been very broadly used: moralists have spoken of Christian citizenship and included thereunder all of the virtues known to the human race; others have extended it to cover practically all of the everyday duties of an individual in a modern community—the obligations of a workingman, a husband, a wife, a child, a neighbor, as well as the purely civic obligations involved in the relation of a man to the government under which he lives. In many instances, where the word "Americanization," with all of its multitude of connotations, is being dropped, the word "citizenship" is one of the terms substituted. It is, consequently, of considerable importance to seek at the outset to fix some boundaries to our study of the teaching of citizenship. We shall, therefore, consider only the formal training of the immigrant in a knowledge of those facts and in those practices pertaining not only to government, but also to those public and quasi-public institutions which serve the community as a whole. We shall not consider vocational training, religious or moral instruction, "safety first" lessons, or that type of drilling in certain formal nationalistic observ-

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ances which is sometimes called instruction in patriotism.

VITAL VS. LEGALISTIC CIVICS

The teaching in civics in the United States was born and nourished in an age of dry legalism. The first texts in civics were dry commentaries on the Constitution. They put primary emphasis upon the machinery of government; state and local affairs were given little attention, and the functions of government were not treated at all. This is the education in civics which flourished until the past decade.

A reaction against this arid type of instruction began more than ten years ago. A number of educators began to insist upon a type of education in civics which should concern itself more largely with the functions rather than the forms of government, and with the local community rather than the national government. This new civics was commonly called "community civics," and its outstanding exponent was A. W. Dunn, whose text, *Community Civics*, still stands as perhaps its best exemplification. Community civics has had a great vogue. In its most extreme form it embodies all of the following characteristics:

1. The treatment begins with the more intimate social concerns of the citizen. In some texts the subject of the family is presented first, probably upon the assumption that the family is the simplest as well as the primary social unit.

2. The dominant idea presented is that of com-

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munity action. The pupil is to form his idea of the meaning of "community" from his experience of the local neighborhood, and after a long treatment of neighborhood housekeeping the author applies the same magic term "community" to the larger social units of city, state, nation, and world.

3. Overwhelming attention is given to inconsequential local affairs. The topic of the nation is treated in a few crowded pages at the end of the book, while many chapters are given to petty community affairs. For example, in a recent text for junior high schools, 1 chapter out of 21 treats of national government, or 13 pages of a total of 204. Twenty-seven lines are given to the subject of mosquitoes, while discussion of the Presidency of the United States is accorded 15. Another text of this type, containing in all 238 pages, gives 10 pages to the question of the nation. The same text gives more space to dealing with the preservation of trees than with the pros and cons of municipal ownership, and more pages to the topic of charity than to that of self-government.

4. A sense of obligation to the community is set up as the sum total of civic virtue. The preface of one of these books states that the author has two questions in mind: (1) "What is the community doing for the citizen?" and (2) "What does the citizen owe to the community?"

5. Few, if any, controversial subjects are introduced. All of the facts are set forth with a

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quiet finality which carries the intimation that government is once and for all time fixed—like the stratification in geological formations. One would never suspect, in reading these texts, that there are affairs in government upon which honest men may differ.

6. In the main, community civics is intended as a contribution to the curriculum of the junior high school. In fact, its exponents insist that controversial material shall not be introduced into the junior high school; all debate is reserved for the civics of the senior high school. "Biologically," says one of the advocates of civics teaching of this sort, "the child in the grades is not able to deal with controversial material."

Community civics in its ordinary form has a number of very serious limitations. The overwhelming attention given to purely community affairs tends to limit the vision of the pupil to the concerns of community housekeeping; the vital national and local concerns are thrust so far into the background that they lose their proper significance. Moreover, the future needs a strong, resolute race of self-governing citizens. Training in affairs of merely neighborhood concern cannot bring forth these qualities. The German schools excelled in a sort of community civic education which emphasized a few things concerning community welfare, but neglected national concerns. The men so trained demonstrated to the world that while they excelled in maintaining city government they knew so little of self-government that they obeyed blindly the

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orders of a small governing class. Community civics, with its narrow outlook, does not develop the fiber of self-dependent citizenship which goes to make the strong nation.

Recognizing these failings, a number of the writers of recent texts in civics are giving more vitality to the material used in instruction on government. Emphasis upon the practical is maintained, while more space is given to the significant larger units of government. The economic basis of society is frankly discussed; vital matters, such as the relations of capital and labor, taxation, and political parties, are given due share in the exposition. Occasionally a well-considered question is inserted for the purpose of provoking discussion. A frank examination of the fundamentals of the existing order is not deemed dangerous for pupils who will be called upon to be a part of it.

GROWTH OF ADULT TRAINING FACILITIES

Recognition of a need of adult education in civics is a comparatively recent thing. It is true that certain political organizations, such as Tammany Hall, have given to our foreign-born aspirants to citizenship a sort of instruction in their civic duties, and connected these lessons with most definite assistance in taking out naturalization papers; but the instruction given by such organizations was limited to a strict admonition to vote regularly and to vote right. The first Federal naturalization law provided that an

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alien, to be admitted to citizenship, must be "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," and these words have been retained in every revision, and are still the only legislative educational requirement for naturalization. If Congress had added that the petitioner must show that he *understands* the principles of the Constitution, and the form of government and the institutions built thereon, it would have clarified the issues and greatly stimulated interest in the whole campaign for education for citizenship.

While a very few judges here and there, cast in the larger mold, have established fair standards as to knowledge requisite for admission to citizenship, for the most part our courts were content with a perfunctory intellectual test, or more often, perhaps, with none at all, during the hundred years or so before the Act of 1906 gave to the Bureau of Naturalization "charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens." The whole tone of naturalization methods began to improve with the appearance in court of Federal examiners. These men, although handicapped by a lack of intelligent training, shackled by an inchoate policy at headquarters and an indeterminate status under the law, yet worked honestly and well. They set up questions testing the candidates' knowledge of our Constitution, government, and laws, and objected to the admission of the insufficiently informed. They were foolish questions sometimes—impossibly

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hard, or childishly easy, or irrelevant—but, in the large, a step in the right direction. The judges, with the inevitable modicum of inert exceptions, raised the standard—grudgingly, tepidly, unenthusiastically—moved by a complex of influences, among which the unintelligent leadership of the Bureau of Naturalization should not be overlooked.

Claims that the Bureau of Naturalization, or this public school, or that social-service agency, originated the idea of citizenship classes, seem unfounded. In one form or another classes for this sort of instruction could probably have been found by the curious at any time during the last century. But with the formulation and application of educational questions by the examiners, the movement as a conscious effort began, very slowly, to take form. Regarded as a national, correlated enterprise, it can scarcely be said even yet to have passed the tentative stage, in spite of the many isolated cases of excellent work.

Civics in classes for immigrants is now treated in two ways. The first is that direct instruction which is given to men who have filed petitions for naturalization and are waiting for their hearing in court; we shall designate this as “civics for naturalization.” The other type is general instruction relating to the government and history of the United States, given in other types of “Americanization schools”; this is usually given in connection with instruction in English.

There are three classes of aliens who furnish the body of pupils to be instructed in the require-

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ments of citizenship: First, that appallingly large number who take no steps looking toward naturalization; second, those who have made the preliminary "declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States," and who are waiting—on probation, as it were—for the two years required before the law permits them to join the third class; and, third, those who have filed their petitions for final naturalization and wait the expiration of the period of at least ninety days that must precede their hearing in court. According to a rough estimate, the Americanization schools of the country (evening schools and classes in particular) are made up of a negligible number of the first class, and draw 10 per cent of their enrollment from the second and 90 per cent from the third. Their failure to reach those who do not seek citizenship, and their ability to reach those who have filed petitions for final papers, were to have been expected.

62 VARIETIES OF CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENTS

The failure of these schools to reach those who have made declaration of intention is a serious indictment. During the fiscal year 1918, 335,069 aliens filed declarations of intention; this is more than three times the number (110,416) who filed petitions for naturalization. Why did our citizenship classes include so few of these? Among other reasons, the following considerations must be presented. Classes have not been established, means of either public or private funds, in

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the major number of communities where they are needed. No competent national system for bringing such classes as there are properly to the attention of declarants has yet been adopted. No amount of study on the part of declarants can win for them the diplomas which will exempt them at the final hearing from the dreaded examination in open court; on the other hand, they are unwilling to give two years to obtaining knowledge which they see petitioners acquiring easily in ninety days. The classes now existing, considered on the whole, are not yet sufficiently vital and interesting, nor sufficiently adaptable to the needs of the individual. In the meantime, civics for naturalization is designed almost exclusively for and offered almost exclusively to those aliens who down a steadily shortening vista of days behold the embarrassing public examination which must precede their incorporation into the body politic.

While only the naturalizing judges are vested by law with the power to grant or deny citizenship, it is practically, except in a very small, decreasing number of courts, the examiners of the Bureau of Naturalization who conduct this examination. In many places, because of the zeal, intelligence, or fair-mindedness, or all three, of the examiners, the judges have come in course of time to accept the standards of these latter, and have practically delegated to them the power of decision in this and all other matters touching the naturalization of aliens. In many other places the judges have been forced into this course

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by a volume of naturalization business too great for them to handle. Some courts do not notify petitioners to appear for their final hearings until they have been passed by the examiners, within whose offices, and not in open court, as intended by the statute, the real examinations for naturalization take place.

The Bureau of Naturalization, therefore, has had during the last decade an increasingly excellent opportunity to develop an educational standard for admission to citizenship that would command universal recognition and respect. In point of fact, its standards are as various almost as the temperaments of the 62 examiners, certainly as the temperaments of the 11 chief examiners it employs. There is no uniformity of point of view among these men, who advise our 2,265 naturalizing courts as to what our more than one hundred thousand new citizens a year must know—who in the fiscal year 1917-18 had 10,661 of the candidates “continued for ignorance of government.”

It is possible to indicate here one type of questions asked. The following are selections from a list which is the result of a careful study of the work of the examiners under the supervision of a chief examiner in a certain city:

1. What is the Constitution of the United States?
2. When and how was the Constitution written and adopted?
3. What is a state and what part does it play in the government of the United States?
4. Was there any plan by which the powers were divided

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between the Federal government and the government of the states?

5. Into how many departments is the Federal government divided?

6. Which one of these three departments has supreme power over the other two?

7. What are some of these checks against arbitrary and illegal use of power by the different departments of the Federal government?

8. What is impeachment?

9. What is the veto power?

10. Of what does the legislative department consist?

11. What is the duty of Congress?

12. How are the members of the House of Representatives chosen, and for what term?

13. Who may be elected a Congressman?

14. Who presides over the House of Representatives?

15. How are members of the Senate chosen, and for what term?

16. Who may be elected a Senator?

17. What is the Cabinet?

18. What oath does the President take?

19. What are the duties of the President?

20. Of what does the judicial department of the Federal government consist?

21. How are the judges of those courts selected, and for what terms?

22. What are the duties of the judges?

23. What is the only crime that the Constitution defines?

24. How are the other crimes determined?

25. Can a person who committed a crime be arrested in a state other than that in which the crime was committed?

26. How are new states admitted to the United States?

27. Can the Constitution be changed?

28. Can Congress pass any law in regard to religion?

29. What other guaranties are there in the Constitution?

30. Can a citizen be deprived of life, liberty, or property?

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31. What is the form of our government?
32. Who rules this country?
33. What is a republic?
34. What is a monarchy?
35. How do these kings and emperors get their offices?
36. How many states are there in the United States?
37. What is the name of our state?
38. What is the name of our county?
39. What is the name of our city?
40. Who are the two senators from (name of state in which examination is held)?
41. How many representatives does (the state in question) have in the House of Representatives?
42. Who represents the district in which you live?
43. Who is the chief executive officer of this state?
44. Who is the present Governor?
45. Who makes the laws for this state?
46. Where does the legislature meet?
47. Who makes the laws for the city of (name of city in which applicant resides)?
48. How is the common council elected?
49. In what ward do you live?
50. Who is the chief executive of the city?
51. Who elects him?
52. Who is our present mayor?

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF NATURALIZATION BUREAU

The Bureau of Naturalization claims to be "co-operating" with more than two thousand places where citizenship classes have been established. It devotes twenty-three pages of its annual report for the fiscal year 1918-19 to a list of them, showing in each case the number of names of applicants for citizenship it has furnished from its records to the local school authorities. Many

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superintendents of schools in places so listed have disclaimed knowledge of the purpose of the laboriously prepared cards on which the names are given, and many more have made no use of them. We have been unable to find corroboration for the statistics alleged by the Bureau of Naturalization as to the number of communities maintaining classes, and so use our own data on this matter.

The 1918 report of the Bureau of Naturalization states that it is co-operating with 1,802 school systems. But 903 of these are listed as co-operating indirectly, which, according to the 1917 report, means they "have made arrangements with schools in adjacent communities for their candidates for naturalization." This leaves 899 school systems which co-operate "by opening their public schools for the instruction of the candidates for citizenship and other resident foreigners." (Report, 1916).

That 899 systems have such classes is denied by information secured by this Study. Nowhere do the bureau's reports list these "direct co-operators." But in following through several reports it becomes apparent that the figure 899 is secured by adding each year the number of new direct co-operators to all those of the preceding years. No deductions are ever made for schools which may have stopped this work.

The first year in which school systems co-operating are listed is 1916, giving 613. In the 1917 report this number is divided into 547 co-

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operating directly, and 66 indirectly. This Study has replies about provision from 446 of these 547 "direct co-operators," 323 of whom report classes and 123 report "no classes" in 1917-18. There were 101 places from which this Study had no reports. For the years 1916-17 and 1917-18 the bureau reports 352 new cities opening schools. Without being able to tell in how many of these 352 places the schools expired after a short life, we do know that other older attempts in 123 places ceased. This again gives more than one death to every three births in activities of school systems in conducting classes for immigrants, as was disclosed by a comparison of Bureau of Education figures with those of this Study in Chapter III.

Further evidence of the unreliability of the bureau's reports of progress in schooling of the immigrant appears from a closer study of its statements. These make special mention of eighty-seven cities whose work is noteworthy for various reasons. This Study has statements from fourteen of these places that they have no classes at all for immigrants. The bureau continues to report them all as active co-operators. Such discrepancies are doubtless due to the bureau's taking official statements of schools that they "are opening their doors" as the equivalent of a report that classes are actually being conducted. It is a fair question to ask what kind of educational leadership is furnished by an agency which is unconscious of the nonexistence of its star exhibits. The report of an agency which

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lists only its assets and not its liabilities is not a reliable indication of achievement.

CLASSES FOR PROFIT

The classes listed by the Bureau of Naturalization, so far as they really exist, are conducted in or under the supervision of the public schools, but they have not supplanted as yet those conducted by other agencies and by individuals. For years petitioners have been in the habit of seeking instruction in the answers to the expected questions from bartenders, lawyers, priests, clerks of court, political clubs, insurance societies, etc., and this practice still continues. The following is an example of a typical private class. A certain individual of Cleveland has a large acquaintance in a foreign-born neighborhood. His chief occupation is that of notary public and he has a sign in his window reading "Citizen Papers Secured"; candidates for citizenship go to him, deposit ten dollars, for which they receive a receipt which specifies that in case they do not pass the examination the money will be refunded, and a group of such applicants are gathered together into a class which he teaches twice a week for several weeks. The men are drilled until they can answer a list of definite questions and then are sent to the naturalization examiner, who, being limited by the routine into which he has allowed himself to fall, asks them the questions in preparation for which they have paid ten dollars. The individual in question has lived for several years upon the profits of these classes and has

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sent two of his sons through college and professional schools. At one time in the city of Cleveland at least a dozen individuals were living on the profits of such enterprises. The name of "nibbler" has been given to them.

A distinct form of exploitation of the petitioner's ignorance is the use of a "citizenship class" conducted by some agency which hopes to proselyte the new citizen. An example of this is a class regularly conducted by a "wet" organization in a certain American city; this organization would send letters, at regular intervals, to all men who were ready to file petitions, reminding them of their eligibility for citizenship and of the fact that the organization in question conducted a free class preparing men for naturalization. Hundreds have been prepared in these classes during the past five years.

SCHOOL CERTIFICATE VS. COURT EXAMINATION

The following account of a class in the Denver Public Opportunity School is taken from the *Outlook* of September 11, 1918:

No one is there from the mistaken idea that if he would be naturalized, attendance is compulsory. Those who wish to obtain the necessary information elsewhere are free to do so; those who stand satisfactorily the preliminary examination conducted by the naturalization service are told that they are sufficiently well informed to pass the test imposed by the court, and need not learn more; but the class is recommended to the attention of them all, and university graduates, high-salaried professional men, engineers, artists, cooks, waiters, and street sweepers sit there comfortably side by side, only one citizen of the United States among

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them—their teacher. The city furnishes his services, but they are indebted to the spirit of American democracy for his point of view.

For months at a time 100 per cent of the aliens naturalized in Denver have been trained in this class. Another interesting policy has been instituted in the public-school classes for immigrants in Los Angeles. Upon the completion of the course in these classes a certificate of graduation is given by the public-school authorities; this certificate is in effect recognized by both naturalization examiners and judges as satisfying the educational requirements for citizenship.

Similar certificates are now issued in at least a score of other places. When countersigned by representatives of the naturalization service, many judges are willing to accept them in lieu of an educational examination in open court. The Bureau of Naturalization has issued instructions, however, that such countersignature be withheld except in those cases where its examiners have been able personally to examine the holders of the certificates and have found them sufficiently informed. As there are hundreds of naturalization hearings which are not attended by examiners, and many more in connection with which the examiners conduct no preliminary examination of applicants, this stand is unfortunate. It is equivalent to claiming that the examiners, who have had no pedagogical training or even clear instructions, are better qualified to pass in a few moments upon the educational qualifications of an applicant than

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the school-teacher who has been instructing him for three months, and who has had him under close, sympathetic observation. The bureau claims that it has not the right to delegate this power to the teacher, and that the teacher might abuse it if he had it. If this is true, the bureau should be given the right; it would not be difficult to devise a system of national supervision of teachers of citizenship classes which would be substantially more effective than that under which the naturalization examiners are now working. The Federal Vocational Educational Board has established a suggestive method of securing conformity of local with national standards. Nation-wide recognition by judges and examiners of the certificate of graduation issued by the citizenship classes of the public schools is pivotal. More than any other one measure it would swell the size and importance of such classes.

GOOD AND BAD TEXTBOOKS

In their search for information immigrant applicants for citizenship have also had recourse to leaflets, pamphlets, and books published by individuals, organizations, municipalities, etc. Some of these unofficial sources of information are good, some are bad, and some are indifferent. Empirically most of them are more serviceable than the textbook issued by the government. Often they have been sold by clerks of court for profit. Nor is this to be wondered at; these books or pamphlets appeared long before the governmental publication, and were the only

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things available at the time. In many places they still hold the field against the government text, by virtue of their simplicity, brevity, instructional value, or local relevancy, as the case may be.

In an attempt to supplant worthless types of publications, and at the same time to give what the government has failed to give, a number of cities have issued naturalization manuals for free distribution. The Detroit Board of Commerce, the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and the Cleveland Americanization Committee have issued such pamphlets and have distributed them in great numbers. In Cleveland alone over 100,000 of these have been distributed free of charge during the past five years.

A certain similarity marks the pamphlets issued in these three cities. The following list of lesson topics, taken from the Detroit *Manual*, indicates the ground they cover:

- Citizenship in the United States of America.

- Geography of the United States.

- History of the United States to the Revolution.

- History of the Country to the Civil War.

- History of the United States from the Civil War to Our Own Time.

- The Federal Government: the Legislative Branch, the Executive Branch, the Judicial Branch.

- The Constitution of Michigan.

- Detroit: Its History and Government.

- Important Facts about Detroit.

- Political Parties: Politics; Voting; How, When, and Where to Vote.

- Important Facts about Our Laws: Civil and Criminal Cases; Relations of Husband and Wife.

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One of the most objectional features in all of this preparation for naturalization has been the attention given to lists of questions and answers. It is gratifying to note that in the newer editions of the Detroit and Cleveland manuals no fixed lists of questions have been included.

THE GOVERNMENT'S TEXTBOOK

In 1918 the Bureau of Naturalization issued a *Student's Textbook* represented in the subtitle as "a standard course of instruction for use in the public schools of the United States for the preparation of the candidates for the responsibilities of citizenship." This book was compiled by Raymond F. Crist, director of citizenship in the Bureau of Naturalization; its preparation and distribution were authorized by an act of Congress of May 9, 1918. Great efforts have been made by the bureau to get educational authorities to use this book, yet in the course of this survey it has been very difficult to find any public-school systems which are using it as a textbook. In fact, practically all schoolmen who have examined it are unanimous in declaring that it is utterly unusable in the classes for which it is intended. It is fair to say, however, that the Bureau of Naturalization has announced that a new and revised edition is being prepared.

While an extended review of this book is not permitted by the space available here, it will be interesting to examine this first attempt at a standardized course in citizenship undertaken by a branch of the government of the United

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States. The *Student's Textbook* is, according to Mr. Crist, a compilation of a large amount of material sent to the bureau by the public schools of the United States. It is very difficult to find in it, however, any indication that the more highly developed systems of instruction in civics have been used. In fact, most of the schools of the country are using textbooks, issued by standard publishers, which are protected by copyright, and if any of these have been used the bureau has not indicated it by any acknowledgment.

The textbook is made up of seven parts. The first consists of twenty lessons in English which, according to the best standards of work in teaching English, are wholly unscientific and practically unusable. The second part is entitled "The National Government"; it consists of fifty-six pages, forty-two of which are taken up with a minute description of the bureaus, boards, and commissions which form that small part of the American governmental machinery which is found in Washington. This elaborate treatment extends to such statements of detail as the following: "The Bureau [of Fisheries] has fifty principal hatcheries, located at suitable places in the United States, which in the fiscal year 1916 produced 4,800,000,000 fish and fish eggs." An examination of the nine leading textbooks on government shows that on an average they devote to consideration of the national administration 8 per cent of the entire discussion; the *Student's Textbook* gives 32 per cent of its space to this topic.

The third part of this text is a two-page

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description of the city of Washington, the fourth a reprint of an address by President Wilson; the fifth is called "A Citizenship Laboratory"; the sixth part, "Fundamentals for the American Home," consists of a compilation of very useful material in home economics; the seventh is a three-page treatise on hygiene.

The language of this book is altogether unsuited to the understanding of the men and women for whom it is intended. In places it is difficult, and the thought abstract, as in the following example:

In order that the necessary data may be secured, it is necessary to make accurate measurements of the distances over the areas to be charted and the fixing of points for the control of the surveys. The method employed for determining these control points is known as triangulation [p. 89].

There seems to have been no attempt on the part of the Bureau of Naturalization to bring the standards of the examiners in line with the *Student's Textbook*. For example, nearly every examiner asks the question, "In what way is the President elected?" An applicant for citizenship who takes at its face value the statement of the subtitle of the book could with some justice reply, "I have read the 'standard course.' It does not contain an answer to your question, but I can tell you the exact dimensions of the Senate Chamber." The book contains a large number of errors; there is no evidence of expert checking up of the material used. Unless the revision of this book is so complete as to be

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practically a rewriting along lines that are scientifically and pedagogically correct, there is no question that Congress should repeal the legislation which permits the Bureau of Naturalization to publish a standard textbook.

The unsatisfactory nature of any short course in civics, such as those usually conducted for petitioners for naturalization, has been recognized by all who are sensible to the need of real instruction in citizenship. Unquestionably the place to teach the essential facts concerning America and its history and institutions, is in connection with the teaching of English. Many of the better texts for work in English include a large amount of "citizenship material," which relieves this phase of instruction of the character of an intensified system of memory drilling. In addition to this study of elementary facts concerning American institutions, many classes have carried on a very practical instruction in citizenship through (1) the singing of patriotic songs, the recitation of patriotic poems, and the celebration of national holidays; (2) organization of the students as a miniature government with imitation of the actual processes of self-government—*i.e.*, legislative bodies are elected, and mock trials and political conventions are held; (3) encouragement of free discussion of matters of general public interest by the students.

SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEM

Training in citizenship has, during the last few years, tended to become more and more practical,

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while the most recent tendencies have introduced a large amount of fundamental teaching bearing on social and governmental problems. Adult education in civics has very largely developed on account of the insistence of the Bureau of Naturalization and of naturalization judges upon a knowledge of American government and institutions on the part of those who seek naturalization, for which the Bureau of Naturalization deserves great credit. Two kinds of teaching in civics for adults at present prevail in Americanization classes: the first is a training in a few facts concerning the government and Constitution designed especially for men filing petitions for naturalization; the second is that general instruction in civic and social responsibility which is often given in connection with lessons in English.

The training of men for the naturalization examination has given rise to grave exploitation by individuals and organizations that serve a selfish purpose, through their influence over the men whom they serve. This evil has been most successfully lessened by those cities which have met the needs of applicants for naturalization by means of classes supported by public funds.

One of the most unfortunate tendencies in the training of men for naturalization has been caused by the insistence of the Bureau of Naturalization and of naturalizing judges upon purely formal knowledge of facts concerning history and government. This has given rise to a parrot-like repetition by candidates of stereotyped an-

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swers to still more stereotyped questions. There has been no attempt on the part of the United States government to establish real standards for admission to citizenship. The nearest approach to this has been the publication by the Bureau of Naturalization of the *Student's Text-book*, which is utterly lacking in pedagogic suitability. This text attempts both to set up a method of acquiring English as a medium of expression and to furnish a body of instruction about citizenship, a difficult task at best, and in no way accomplished by this publication. It is to be supposed that the many proposals for constructive efforts will result in offering instruction in English to a larger and larger number of non-English-speaking aliens. The concerns of citizenship should be a large part of the subject matter by means of which English is taught. The ideal should be that every man who files his declaration of intention should receive during the two years of waiting some kind of instruction in English and citizenship. This, of course, will not be accomplished, but all educational authorities should attempt to impart as much training concerning government and the social relations of the individual as is necessary for fairly effective participation in civic life. The teaching of English and the teaching of citizenship should go hand in hand.

A NINETY DAYS' TRAINING LIMIT

For several years to come, regardless of how well organized the work for declarants may be,

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there will be the men who have filed petitions and await a hearing within ninety days, and who have up to this point had no preparation; this makes necessary the continuance of classes and other facilities for assisting these men to satisfy the requirements of naturalizing judges. This work should be organized in the following manner:

1. The names and addresses of the men eligible for filing petitions should be secured from the declarations file by the school authorities. Letters should be sent to the men inviting them to attend classes for the preparation of petitioners for the hearing in court. Experience indicates that such letters will reach at least 75 per cent of these men.

2. Classes should be established for these ninety-day men, preferably in public schools, and under the auspices of the latter. When there is a choice between a public agency and a private corporation, the former should be chosen; the public agency is freer from suspicion as to ulterior motive. The matter of place, however, should be determined by the practical consideration of where the men can best be reached. Often a branch library or a parochial school will be a more convenient place than the public school.

3. These classes should be conducted for at least ten weeks before the hearing in court. If a man understands English, the minimum of preparation required of him should be attendance for at least ten two-hour periods. This time will necessarily have to be extended for certain indi-

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viduals. Teachers in these classes should be able to assist their men through the many difficulties attendant upon the taking out of citizenship papers. It will often be necessary, in a large system, to have a special legal assistant going from class to class to assist the teachers in this work.

4. Certificates of satisfactory completion of such a course, according to standards established at Washington for the whole country, should be given by the agency conducting the classes. Naturalizing judges should recognize these certificates as satisfying the educational requirements for naturalization. Public recognition should be given to graduates of these classes by means of public exercises.

One of the most difficult questions concerning the schooling of the foreign born in citizenship is that of standards. It is easy for moralizers to speak of "training in Americanism," of "teaching the principles of the Constitution," but it is not easy to formulate a body of principles which will be generally accepted as the tenets of an American faith. In fact, if we are truly American we will deprecate any attempt to make a hard-and-fast statement of the requirements of citizenship. We should consider that with all the effective organization of public-school administration and its long development, it has still achieved no national standard in arithmetic and no generally accepted budget of information which represents a standard course in physiology. We should not regret, therefore, that there is no

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universally accepted set of facts which comprises the information necessary for becoming a good citizen. Federal bureaus should and will publish courses in citizenship. It is to be hoped that Federal bureaus better equipped for the task than the Bureau of Naturalization may formulate many such courses; but this will not even to a small degree meet the practical needs of schoolmen in the immediate future. Standards should be formulated loosely in every city and adjusted to meet the currents of the best thought upon the subject. The latest information indicates that thirty-nine texts in civics are in process of preparation. We shall not lack "standard courses"; it will be from the gradual blend of all of this thought that the standards of the future will be determined.

It may not be inappropriate, however, in this discussion to indicate some of the factors which makers of civics courses should not overlook. The naturalization course is necessarily limited by reason of two things: first, the short time available for it, and, second, the standards which naturalization judges still believe to be proper. With due recognition of these limitations, the short course suggested above should not neglect the following subjects:

1. Government, its nature and kinds.
2. The framework of the government of the United States.
3. History (within the compass of short lessons), with special attention to the great social movements, such as the development of the modern industrial system and life.

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4. The place of the state in the Federal union, and the government of the state in which the student resides.
5. The social and economic functions of a state.
6. The government of the city and its functions.
7. Political parties, nominations, and elections.
8. Elementary facts (one or two lessons) concerning police regulations of the city, such as ordinances protecting the public health, etc.

The longer course which can and should be given in connection with lessons in English may consist of a more or less elaborate treatment of the following general subjects:

1. The nature of government, its kinds and functions; anarchism, socialism, and republican government.
2. The history of the United States, with special emphasis upon such great social movements as the peopling of the continent, the industrial revolution, the rise of concentrated industry, and the beginnings of the organization of labor.
3. The framework of the governments of nation, state, and city.
4. Community welfare, such as health, recreation, education, public safety, and public works.
5. The economic concerns of a citizen, such as the care of his money, the use of public employment agencies and trade-unions, and other industrial relations.
6. The part of the citizen in government: political parties, voting, and general interest in public affairs.
7. The international relations of the United States.

CITIZENSHIP VS. CIVICS

Training in citizenship for adult immigrants must be practical in the extreme. The short period during which the student is able to attend school and the importance of the part which as a citizen he must soon take in government makes

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actual practice in the functions of citizenship most desirable. He should be taught to vote by actually marking ballots; he should be encouraged to express his ideals before the class, and required to take part in parliamentary practice in the class. Free discussion of all political and economic questions should be not only allowed, but encouraged; the citizenship class must take its part in developing rational and orderly discussion of public questions. The teacher who prevents this is doing an inestimable injury to the American school system; when the agitator can illustrate by concrete examples that the American school is not free, he is striking at the vitals of republican government.

The most important principle in all this work is this, that whatever exercises the organizing and co-operative capacities of the individual is the most vital kind of training for participation in a democratic government. This is "practical" civic education in the truest sense. We must be sufficiently resourceful to be able to put our undergraduates in citizenship into positions as nearly similar as possible to those in which they will be placed in the fulfillment of their duties as citizens. Practice in voting, discussions upon public questions, self-determination within the class as to the details of classroom administration, are all useful exercises in self-government. In one city, mock trials have been held in citizenship classes, with students acting as judges, jury, attorneys, and other officers of the court; likewise a miniature city council has succeeded in

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adding reality to instruction in civics. Similar classroom patterns of other institutions have been successfully used; in the grades and the high school these methods have already been developed until they constitute a permanent part of instruction in civics.

There are, however, limitations in the use of these methods in adult citizenship classes. Men seeking long-delayed citizenship papers are in a hurry for results; limitation of time is especially a factor in the case of the ninety-day men. Further, the naturalization examiners are still basing their tests of fitness for citizenship upon primitive memory tests; the teacher is face to face with a situation which does not allow of much experimentation. It must also be remembered that these students are mature men and women; this is a fact that is too often forgotten by Americanization workers. Such students in citizenship are often men upon whom reality has burned a deep imprint. They will chafe under methods which seem to them unreal and childlike; they do not want to "play at" government.

PRACTICE IN CITIZENSHIP

Practice in co-operation as a part of instruction in citizenship should be directly used in activities bearing directly upon the vital concerns of the student. It is not important that the form with which this activity is associated be called by the same name as a governmental institution.

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If it compels organization, self-government, and co-operative activity, it is of the very essence of training for citizenship. In government itself it is not the form but the activity which is enduring. Often in the history of civilization old governmental institutions have been swept away by revolution and supplanted by obscure but vital organizations which had till then existed for purposes other than governmental, as the pre-revolutionary committee of correspondence became the beginnings of our Federal government.

To specify what a teacher can do in this matter of training for co-operation is not easy. It will, in the last analysis, depend upon her own resources. She should never lose practical opportunity of allowing the class to decide questions of class policy—*e.g.*, when possible, the time of meeting, the method of class procedure, the administration of class parties and graduation exercises. In one city a citizenship class organized and petitioned the city council for the extension of certain improvements in their section of the city; such an experiment indicates a vast field for this realistic kind of activity.

The relation between the New York Board of Education and the educational committee of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, described in Chapter III, is an illustration in point. Here an organization of immigrants is learning citizenship through responsible, reciprocal relations with a department of government. The actual collective decisions of the educational committee are exercises in group self-direction; the re-

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lation of the committee and the rank and file of the union is an education for both in the requirements and limitations of representative government; the educational committee's dealings with school officials is an initiation into actual governmental operations. The farther the public schools go in establishing co-operative relations with self-directed groups of immigrants for educational purposes, the more opportunities they will be creating for learning by doing in the field of self-government.

The American House, a community center connected with the public schools of Cincinnati, is establishing co-operative relations of various sorts with immigrant organizations. Not only will the questions arising from these relations furnish experience in democratic action for the foreign-born groups, but the American House officials will become cognizant of problems entirely within these organizations, and helpful suggestion and discussion of truly democratic solutions would be giving aid in self-government. Determining how a disputed extra assessment in a benefit society could be duly authorized would be a contribution to an understanding of taxation in a democratic government.

Of course classes in citizenship cannot depend for material on the chance occurrence of pertinent situations within other organizations to which pupils belong. Therefore the course in citizenship should provide for regular discussion of live questions of procedure in the many self-directed groups so common among immigrants.

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The following questions, for example, are immediate to the pupils' own interests: After what action are labor leaders justified in calling a strike—after a referendum of all members, an action of a delegate convention, or a decision of only a governing board? In what way may lodge officials be removed for improper conduct? How shall a decision be reached as to whether the profits of a co-operative shall be distributed in dividends on purchase or spent on welfare activities? Such questions are current and vital in the lives of immigrants. They are problems in actual self-government. May not the learning to solve them contribute as effectively to present American citizenship as the decision to have a school, to organize a militia company, or to ring a curfew prepared the fathers of our nation for establishing the American Republic?

In passing, it may be remarked that thousands of American workingmen learn a great deal about organized government in labor-union meetings. Possibilities may offer for co-operation with labor-union activities. In those industries where shop committees and other such organizations are encouraged, it should be easy to combine instruction in citizenship with the activities of these. The possibilities of developing co-operation in the industrial plant are almost unlimited, and co-operative stores, lunch rooms, and recreational activities are more valuable for training of citizenship than all the books on civics ever written.

In cities where comprehensive efforts are being

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made to enroll all non-English-speaking immigrants in classes in English, the aid of naturalization classes should be invaluable. Members of such classes might organize for the purpose of recruiting new applicants for citizenship. A city-wide organization of all naturalized citizens should be perfected, but its purpose should be vital, and nonpolitical. Such activities might very well constitute the practice in self-governing organization which we are seeking; the future of civic education, perhaps of all organized government, is measured only by the capacity of educators to develop the co-operative instincts of common men everywhere.

XI

SUMMARY

AMERICA has undertaken the problem of national unification or Americanization in a fashion similar to that in which she undertook the conduct of the war. An unsuspected situation was suddenly revealed to us and we hastened to make amends for past negligence. We wished to attack it wholesale, without large expenditure, and get the troublesome task over with, so as to resume the normal tenor of existence. But we are finding that the problem is more subtle than we had supposed, and that our national genius for getting quick results is balked by this situation, strange to our habitual comprehensions. We shall not be as quickly rid of this newer problem as we were of the war, and our methods must be entirely different.

THE TASK IS NEVER DONE

The war was a challenge to the efficacy of our material and spiritual forces, and its carrying out meant the production of materials, equipment, guns, and machinery, as well as the development of the spirit of courage and sacrifice. National unification presents a more complex situation,

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and one that cannot be dealt with in a hurried fashion. The problem promises to be with us indefinitely, at least as long as aliens come to our shores. Even should immigration cease entirely we should probably need to await a gradual evolution of feeling and action to bring about the condition which is sought by those who hope immediately by the "drive" method to make all individuals 100-per-cent Americans. We may rightly proceed by emotional challenges to arouse public attention to the seriousness of the situation, for the securing of funds, and for the establishment of instruments suitable for an enduring function. The process of national unification, however, is primarily one of education and time; it is not to be undertaken impulsively, but systematically, persistently, and determinedly.

The act of the alien taking out his first papers means very little in relation to national unification. Thousands of aliens are taking out first papers under the coercion of employers in order to retain their employment, many others to avoid oppressive taxation. Nor does the process of naturalization mean much more in many instances. Thousands have been naturalized at the instigation of politicians who strive for party control. Naturalization of late has come to mean much more than formerly, and is, consequently, a greater guaranty of desirable citizenship; but it is a mistake to assume that naturalization of the individual completes the process of unification, and that further concern about the attitudes of the naturalized citizen is unnecessary.

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The problem before us, consequently, is practically permanent in so far as we can forecast the probabilities of the future. Mushroom organizations, like councils of defense, citizens' organizations, and the like, are not competent to undertake successfully the careful and persistent efforts necessary toward an effective solution. The organization to be chosen must have permanency like that of our school systems or our courts. The difficulties before us should not deter us. The chief business of a democracy is the making of citizens.³ The task is never done, but always in process; each child is a candidate for education for citizenship. We make the mistake of thinking that the problem of citizenship for the foreign born is essentially different from that of the native born, whereas the two are fundamentally the same.

ASSUMPTION OF SUPERIORITY

The native born, who are carrying the burden of national unification, must rid themselves of two kinds of obsessions before they will be spiritually fit to undertake the task of securing the whole-souled loyalty and co-operation of the foreign born. These delusions are, first, that native Americans constitute a superior race when compared with the foreign born, and, second, that our institutions and aspirations are peculiar and distinctive to our own people and country. It is recognized that Americans only exhibit usual nationalistic conceits in these assumptions of

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superiority. Human nature everywhere has been prone to the same defects: even the cultured Greeks looked upon all those of non-Hellenic race as barbarians; and it is related that in a certain village of Switzerland, where the majority of the natives had goiters, those not so affected were objects of ridicule. A progressive stage of civilization is characterized, among other qualities, by the capacity of its citizens to recognize both the shortcomings of their own group and the virtue of other nationalities. We need to approach the problem of national unification, consequently, "with an humble and contrite heart," as Kipling sings when praying for the preservation of the English people; we need to do it in the spirit of Christian charity, which warns against seeing the mote in our brother's eye when the beam is in our own.

Again, the love of liberty, which we ordinarily assume to be distinctive of Americans, is but a fundamental desire wherever the human species is found. The differences in the degree of liberty prevailing in various nationalities is due chiefly to the difficulties which they have respectively encountered in their efforts to secure freedom. We have been more fortunate, perhaps, than others, in that institutions and conditions which elsewhere have thwarted liberty have never existed here.

The recent war ought to do much toward correcting many of our unfounded assumptions. Nationalities have been set free that have struggled centuries where we strove for years,

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and against difficulties immensely greater than our own. Americans in Cleveland during the war were cheered as well as astonished by an inscription on the banners of marching Czechoslovaks: "Americans, do not be discouraged. We have been fighting these tyrants for three hundred years. We are Americans through and through by the spirit of our nation." The immigrant's viewpoint and aspiration are essentially similar to ours. Usually neither the immigrant nor the native is aware of this, and each thinks that the other is essentially different. The popular epithets applied to immigrants illustrate the common assumption of differences of viewpoint and of the supposed superiority of the native.

UNION OF EQUALS

National unification means the realization of the oneness of the native and the foreign born. We need to understand each other. Misunderstanding is the chief obstacle which prevents the fusion process. We cannot understand each other when there is a confusion of tongues, hence the need of establishing through education a medium of communication. But knowledge of English is only a means, not an end, and naturalization is in the same category. We do not judge quality of citizenship in the native from the fact that he speaks English or that he has the right to vote, but from the way in which he exercises the rights of citizenship.

The lessening use of the term "Americaniza-

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tion" shows appreciation of the fact that national unification is not a matter of conversion from a lower to a higher plane, but rather a process of joining equally meritorious forces for a better common nationalism, a more perfect state of human happiness. The foreign born need more education, so do the native born; both need infinitely more, and largely the same kind of education.

The number of non-English-speaking aliens among us is not large, not over 3 per cent of our total population. The problem of improving the character of our citizenship is large indeed, embracing in some respects 100 per cent of our citizens. Americanization, or better, national unification, should not mean the effort of nine-tenths of the population to obliterate the crudeness or differences of one-tenth who have come to us as aliens, but should mean the earnest effort of the whole nation to rise to a higher level. It is not the immigrant minority which is a menace to our institutions; the condition of the whole mass is what gives us concern. By improving the majority we shall make the minority safe.

In assuming fundamental racial equality among our various peoples in respect to potentiality for effective citizenship, it is not intended to establish a case for the internationalism now preached by radical socialists, which is in reality an old theory of the communists who have long sought to organize people on the basis of class interests independent of nationality. Throughout this

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volume is presented the standpoint that nationalism is the strongest uniting force in human action. Invariably in history the conflicts between religious and nationalistic forces have resulted in the triumph of nationalism. We have the example of the Socialists of Germany abandoning the theory of internationalism at the outbreak of the war, voting the war credits and justifying the action of the fatherland in entering a war of conquest. The present difficulties of the world in the effort to establish a just and lasting peace are centered around the nationalistic motives of the various peoples involved. The trite maxim that "blood is thicker than water" sums up a world experience. Nationalism is a reality that cannot be ignored.

America possesses a nationalism that is hard to define, perhaps, but none the less keenly felt in the hearts of her citizens. America cannot be said to have discovered new principles of human conduct, but to have presented a better opportunity for successful application of existing ones. In our Constitution, in our Declaration of Independence, in the utterances of our great leaders, appear the American expression of these principles; but the principles themselves are universal and eternal.

Made up as we are of the representatives of all nationalities, we can but accept the principle of the essential equality of all nationalities. Individuals of all races have the right to vote and participate in our government; we cannot assume that the Anglo-Saxon or the Scandinavian

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casts his vote more intelligently or more honestly than the Slav or the Southern Italian. The distinctive characteristic of America is this recognition of human equality and the effort to realize in our land the natural desire of persons of all nationalities among us to live under just conditions. These are the things we offer to the immigrant when asking him to join the fellowship of our democracy. Usually, as he perceives and appreciates the institutions of America, he begins to feel the new loyalty.

America must exhibit to the alien the evidence of the thing she would have him love. This thing cannot be an abstraction or a theory, but a reality. There must be conditions of justice, of protection, of opportunity which are a challenge to gratitude, which again is a universal impulse in the hearts of men, common to all nationalities. The alien who finds a home in our land, who locates his economic and sentimental interests within our borders, instinctively develops a sense of belonging to the new group. The home feeling and the group feeling are fundamental in the development of the nationalistic sentiment; a new home and new groups mean eventually a new sense of nationality. Those who picture a pure internationalism ignore these fundamental tendencies of human feeling; no one can read Edward Everett Hale's book, *The Man Without a Country*, without appreciating the sense of loss which Philip Nolan experienced. It is well, indeed, that all nations develop new international sympathies, so that nation-

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alities no longer seek to dispossess or destroy other nationalities; but indifference to nationality is not a mark of progress, but rather an abnormality.

EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY'S BEST TOOL

Education as applied to the alien furnishes the means whereby he can sense and understand things American, particularly institutions, laws, opportunities, obligations, and protections. This educational process must be set upon a proper basis. It is not the business of industry, philanthropy, nor of religious establishments to assume the burden of maintaining the institutions necessary for systematic and extensive education of the alien. These agencies may set up institutions if they choose, for the right to private educational undertakings is a democratic right; but that private forces should be expected to set up the only institutions, and the public to erect none, is a negation of democratic principle. Education for citizenship is a primary function of democratic government, and the educational process should apply to the adult as well as to the child. Our democracy has seen fairly well its obligations to the child, but very inadequately realized its duty toward the adult. We have at present some provision in evening schools, inadequate in organization and unavailing for the mass who need instruction; private enterprise furnishes additional provision, but all present agencies combined do not constitute a

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satisfactory means of meeting the educational needs of the immigrant.

The education of immigrants has been retarded thus far by two factors: first, inadequate provision for their education, and, second, the irregular attendance of immigrants themselves. It must not be forgotten, in improving the means that now exist, that these will rest for their final success upon the regular attendance of the immigrant. It was early assumed, in providing public schools for all children, that all families would keep their children at school. This did not prove to be the case. Whether a similar problem of irregular attendance will appear in the case of the adult immigrants when adequate means of schooling are provided, cannot now be predicted or known, but the immediate duty of the hour is to provide means that are adequate, and deal with the question of attendance as it arises.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITY

We need at the present moment uniform legislation in the states and in the nation, and more adequate funds. The education of the adult alien should receive the same careful consideration, with respect to provisions and support, that is now given to the education of the minor. The provisions must differ materially from those devised for children, but the principle of public support should be the same. We find, in point of practical procedure, that the public schools of the particular communities in which

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aliens live are the agencies best fitted to assume the new task. Communities now make provision practically for the education of minors only and the funds which they are permitted to use are adequate only for this purpose. Our public schools can assume the added function if given additional funds and requisite authority. If for no other purpose than to prevent needless expense and the setting up of unnecessary organizations, we should select the public-school systems of the country as the proper agencies for the schooling of the immigrant. What the nature of the new laws should be, and what the added funds with which to undertake larger programs, have been discussed in preceding chapters. Laws and funds come easily enough when the public appreciates the principles at issue and the obligations involved. The reason why we still lack the laws and the funds is because the public has not seen its duty in this new situation.

Our present educational technique will require many adjustments as to both outlook and method before this problem can be successfully solved. Our public-school systems have made many adjustments of late years, and have shown competency in performance when given the means with which to work. In Chapter II is presented a suggestive program for a systematic and effective course of action. The proposed plan of educational organization is based upon the assumption that the public obligation in the education of the immigrant is tripartite. The alien whom we would invite to join our citizenship lives in a

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community and in a state, and is to be a citizen of the nation; each of these political units has a stake in the prospective citizen, each is interested in the product of his education, each is benefited by a happy outcome of the undertaking and endangered by an unfortunate issue.

In incorporating a new function into our public-school system, we should naturally adopt such a form of organization as new conditions and a growing experience make advisable. National co-operation and financial assistance to communities for educational purposes is an accepted procedure in practically all progressive countries of the world. The form of organization proposed by our plan is by no means original, and is now in use in our own national program for industrial and agricultural education and being vigorously urged as the proper form of organization for the general public-school systems of our country.

Attention has been called in this volume to the growing interest of many states and communities in the relation which should be established and maintained between private education and the state. It has been pointed out that the problem is by no means simple, nor the proper procedure wholly obvious. Customs and institutions have grown up with the conditions of toleration and tacit approval, and present dissatisfactions in the situation are difficult to remedy because of the delay in dealing with the causes. Two important developments have precipitated the present movement, widespread throughout the country, to discover acceptable

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principles and practices in relation to private education—namely, the war and its many social and political consequences, and the marked growth of private education. In this volume the position is maintained that neither the state nor the individual, association or church, may claim exclusive rights in the education of the child. The right of private education has always been admitted in our democracy and must now be reaffirmed; but in the exercise of the right of private education the individual, association, or church must recognize the right of the state to make such demands as are bound up with the maintenance of an efficient citizenship. The state in exercising its right must be reasonable and sympathetic, particularly with respect to religious convictions. The main reasonable demands of the state are that standards relating to teaching, subject matter, and housing in private schools be as high as those of the public schools; that the required subjects of instruction of the public schools be made obligatory upon private schools; and that the English language be made, without equivocation or evasion, the medium of instruction and a subject of study in such schools, at least during the period of compulsory attendance.

The position taken with regard to the public control of factory classes is based not so much upon right as upon expediency. Business corporations deserve commendation for their efforts toward furnishing instruction for employees, especially those corporations which have done so

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with the ultimate aim of fostering good citizenship. It is inexpedient that business corporations should continue in what is primarily a public function. We do not expect, nor would we approve, that employing corporations furnish and maintain instruction for children of employees, though the taxes of the corporation often furnish indirectly the funds for the schools of the community which the children attend. Even if we assume that in general the corporation school for immigrants aims primarily to give education for citizenship, nevertheless, when the choice is between the two agencies, the corporation and the public school, the latter is the institution upon which the task should be imposed. However, there is no particular controversy upon this matter. Corporations are not attempting to maintain educational facilities for the education of immigrants as a corporate right, but are doing it as a practical necessity because the public has not performed its duty. We may approve the growing use of the plan under which the corporation joins with public authorities in furnishing educational opportunities, with the public controlling the policies involved.

TEACHERS AND METHODS

Not only do we need to consider principles and organization when setting up a fundamental and comprehensive program for the education of the immigrant, but we must study and define the methods to be used. The chapter on Methods of Teaching English has, it is hoped,

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presented sufficient evidence to indicate the importance of a proper methodology. The education of the child presents many difficulties; that of training the adult presents no fewer. We select, train, and supervise the teachers of children; we cannot avoid doing the same with teachers of adults. It has been erroneously assumed that the instruction of the immigrant in a new language and citizenship is a comparatively simple matter, quite unlike other kinds of instruction, as the teaching of the child or the native-born youth. Philanthropic, industrial, and even governmental agencies have let the impression go broadcast that the teaching of adult immigrants can be satisfactorily undertaken by comparatively untrained persons, such as college students with a desire to serve, foremen of plants interested in industrial efficiency, and casual individuals with benevolent inclinations. There is no royal road to learning, and we are deceiving ourselves if we are led to believe that by some accident the education of the immigrant is an exception to the world-old axiom. During the war we were forced to adopt many hasty and makeshift programs, one of them attempting to provide superficial instruction for non-English-speaking aliens on a large scale and for immediate results; but we shall make a mistake if we are persuaded that such programs are competent to serve for the larger results which education for citizenship implies.

The schooling of the immigrant means providing trained teachers, using competent methods.

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The method does not make the teacher; the teacher makes the method. It is hoped that this volume has presented sufficient evidence to show the unwary or the inexperienced the fatuity of assuming that a particular text will meet the problem of instruction for the immigrant, and that by the dissemination of the magic book the problem of teaching will be solved. A good text has relevancy to a successful program, but is of infinitely less importance than the teacher, and of distinctly less importance than a proper methodology. Any methodology which is not greater than a single text stands indicted by that fact. A proper method may employ various texts, but is in no way limited by any of them.

We have recommended the use of the direct method and the analytic process of teaching language as opposed to indirect methods, and have commended the principles of Francis Gouin, who may be considered the notable exponent of a new and valuable principle in this field. The warning has been given that the principles of Gouin are not self-operating, and are effective only in the hands of trained disciples. Many mistakes are being made by teachers who think they are applying the methodology of Gouin; many systems are in use that bear resemblance to but do not represent the substance of what Gouin taught. This great genius in his writings gives no encouragement to the popular belief that untrained individuals can apply his methods successfully. And not even

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Gouin is to be followed slavishly. The trained teacher will improvise from her own thinking and experience, and will use devices from other masters who have laid down principles for the teaching of foreign languages.

These observations naturally enforce the conclusions as to the importance of teacher training. In the discussion of this topic a suggestive program has been outlined.¹ In the stimulation which has come since 1915 to the movement for the education of non-English-speaking immigrants, many untrained workers, connected with both public and private agencies, have been called on to render service. Both the willingness to serve and the service rendered are commendable. But we need trained service in this instance as well as in all other educational enterprises; we cannot hope to avoid the expense and the trouble of training teachers if we are to attain satisfactory standards.

The part-time workers now teaching in our evening schools have no opportunity to specialize in a field which requires specialization for efficient results. By combining in one organization the various kinds of day and evening classes now maintained for the instruction of immigrants, we shall be able to create a new institution, maintaining a corps of teachers devoting full time to this important educational work. We shall be able to do this not only adequately, but economically. Let us cease decrying the failure of our present agencies, which are limited

¹ Chap. viii.

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by the very conditions which we have imposed, and build up an institution which has the potentiality and promise of success. We are spending an infinitesimal amount to-day for unsatisfactory results. With even a small expenditure wisely administered we can obtain substantial improvement; with larger amounts we shall be able to approximate in the education of the immigrant what we are actually doing for the children in our public schools.

We have attempted to describe concretely an appropriate institution for the effective instruction of the immigrant. Our school systems at present maintain kindergartens, elementary schools, and junior and senior high schools, all these having particular and suitable educational purposes; they are designed, however, for the education of minors of varying degrees of maturity. Our present evening schools, found in less than half the communities where there are considerable numbers of immigrants, are not suitable institutions for the proper instruction of adult immigrants. If we are serious in our determination to provide a more suitable instrument, we need to adopt an institution like the day school for immigrants, described in Chapter III.

In the growing relations between community school systems and state and national administrative agencies, the present confusion of authority, particularly as this pertains to national bureaus, should be eliminated. Matters of education should be specifically assigned to a distinctively educational department. The at-

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tempts of the Bureau of Naturalization to dominate the educational phases of preparation for citizenship should be abandoned; if there exists a law to-day placing the responsibility of educational direction on this bureau, this law should be amended. The school systems now deal with the Bureau of Education very specifically with respect to special types of work, such as industrial education, home economics, and agricultural education. They deal with the bureau in a more casual way with respect to matters pertaining to general education. To what extent our school systems are now co-operating with the Bureau of Education with respect to policies affecting the schooling of the immigrant has been described in Chapter II.

There is a splendid opportunity for co-operation, instead of competition, between the two bureaus in question. Let the educational bureau be given sole authority in the field wherein it is recognized and for which it is equipped—namely, educational technique. Let the naturalization bureau concentrate in its own appropriate sphere—namely, the matters relating directly to the naturalization process after the work of education has been accomplished.

In Chapter VI is presented evidence on better authority than that of opinion, to the following effect: Evening-school classes are continually changing in personnel; pupils are constantly entering and dropping out; for example, within a test period of one month in New York, and during a lesser interval in Boston, 40 per cent

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of the pupils present for the first test were not present for the second, while of those on hand for the second test 20 per cent were new students. Our present grading is entirely inadequate, since classes when accurately measured as to abilities are in effect ungraded classes; with respect to ability in spelling, as an illustration we find that evening-school pupils are not above third-grade standard; the instruction they receive, consequently, goes largely over their heads. Present methods of instruction, drawn largely from day-school procedure, are unsuited for work with adults. The defections from these classes fall largely in the higher and lower ability groups—those pupils who are least benefited by the work offered.

Chapter VII suggests a more effective method of instruction than those now obtaining, a procedure denominated as a true service basis. The most important element in the new order would be recognition of the purpose of all educational work for immigrants as that of assisting them to participate in American life, and helping them to make increasing use of American institutions. The day school for immigrants would be looked upon as the city's educational service station, to which any immigrant might go to obtain free information, training, or assistance of any kind of which he stood in need.

LEGISLATION BECOMING ADEQUATE

The evidence presented in Chapter IX points with certainty to a general trend in legislation

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toward measures aiming for better citizenship. This is seen in the extension of compulsory education in all states for all children, with extension of the upper age limits; in the provisions for specific instruction in the duties of citizenship in a growing number of states; in the outward expression of love of country in the display of the flag. There are now less than a dozen states which make no legal provision for the display of the United States flag on or near school buildings, and recent enactments would seem to indicate that all states will soon require such display.

The enactments of 1918-19 reflect an aroused sentiment crystallized by legislatures in laws requiring that English shall be the basic language in all elementary schools. It is now apparent from the trend of recent legislation that there can henceforth be no question that it is the will of the people that no child in America shall grow into citizenship without mastering the language of America. The extension of the compulsory school-attendance age for illiterate minors (from sixteen to twenty-one years) seems assured in many states. To the laws of Massachusetts and New York already maintaining such limits there was added in 1919 similar legislation in New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island, and South Dakota. One state, Utah, has extended the period of compulsory attendance to the age of forty-five. While much remains to be done by most of the states, a general survey of recent legislation affecting immigrant education cannot but produce a hopeful impression. If it is not a

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ways adequate, there is everywhere an awakened public concern that will shortly bring satisfactory results.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL

Measures for the improvement of our citizenship are not to be restricted to one group, like that of the alien, but should apply to the whole body of citizens. The group considered in this volume, consequently, is only one, and a small one, in the great body affected. This group needs attention, and this volume has attempted to set forth the main constructive features of an adequate program of education so far as it is concerned. But we shall fail to deal effectively with the alien if we look upon him as a particular source of danger and confine our attempts for improving citizenship only to his education and naturalization; the education and naturalization of the immigrant are simply one part of an immense program, a program that must apply to 100 per cent of our citizenship.

The schooling of the immigrant is a more specific phase of the general problem of an improved citizenship, and, consequently, less difficult to treat than the larger situation. We may predict that the present interest in particular phases will soon be transformed into a perception of the larger problem itself. We went to war to make the world safe for democracy, and in peace we find that our own democracy is none too safe. All our forces, resources, and institutions are called upon for new efforts, new adjust-

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ments, new interpretations. Particularly the schools, the home, religious bodies, government agencies, business, and labor seem called upon for efforts and assistance never before equaled. In a marked manner society has appealed to the school to take a foremost part in the struggle before us. Whatever may be the potency of education to meet social crises, it will not be sufficient in the weakness of other institutions. The problem is for no single institution, but for all combined—the school, the home, the church, capital and labor—and those to be uplifted will not be found in any single group. All of us who are the people for whom and by whom government is maintained have been at fault, all of us must assume the responsibility, and all of us must make the new adjustment.

APPENDIX

MASSACHUSETTS LAWS REQUIRING EVENING SCHOOLS AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE FOR MINORS ILLITERATE IN ENGLISH

Revised Laws, Chapter 42, Section 11, amended by
Acts of 1914, Chapter 590

PUBLIC EVENING SCHOOLS.—Any town may, and every city or town in which there are issued during the year from September 1st to August 31st certificates authorizing the employment of twenty or more persons [sixteen to twenty-one years of age] who do not possess the educational qualifications enumerated in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended, shall maintain during the following school year an evening school or schools for the instruction of persons over fourteen years of age in orthography, reading, writing, the English language and grammar, geography, arithmetic, industrial drawing, both free hand and mechanical, the history of the United States, physiology and hygiene, and good behavior. Such other subjects may be taught in such schools as the school committee considers expedient.

Acts of 1913, Chapter 467, amended by General Acts
of 1916, Chapter 82

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND EMPLOYMENT OF ILLITER- ATE MINORS

Section 1.—Every illiterate minor between sixteen and twenty-one years of age except married women

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shall attend some public evening school in the city or town in which he resides for the whole time during which the public evening schools are in session: *provided*, that such city or town maintains a public evening school. Attendance at a public day school, or at a private school approved for the purpose by the school committee, shall exempt such minor from attending a public evening school. This act shall not affect any existing laws regarding the compulsory school attendance of illiterate minors or their employment, but shall be in addition to such laws.

Section 2.—An illiterate minor who willfully violates any provision of this act shall be punished by a fine of not less than five dollars.

Section 3.—Every person having under his control an illiterate minor between sixteen and twenty-one years of age shall cause him to attend a public evening school as hereby required; and if such person fails for six sessions within a period of one month to cause the minor so to attend school, unless the minor's physical or mental condition is such as to render his attendance at school harmful or impracticable, such person shall, upon complaint by a truant officer, and conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than twenty dollars.

Section 4.—Whoever induces or attempts to induce such minor to absent himself unlawfully from school, or employs such a minor except as is provided by law, or harbors such a minor who, while school is in session, is absent unlawfully therefrom, shall be punished by a fine of not more than fifty dollars.

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Acts of 1909, Chapter 514, Section 66, amended
by Acts of 1913, Chapter 779, Section 23, and
by General Acts of 1916, Chapter 95,
Section 3

EDUCATIONAL CERTIFICATES.—No child who is over sixteen and under twenty-one years of age shall be employed in a factory, workshop, manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment, except as provided for pupils in co-operative courses, approved as such by the board of education, and conducted in public schools, unless his employer procures and keeps on file an educational certificate showing the age of the child and his ability or inability to read and write as hereinafter provided. Such certificates shall be issued by the person authorized by this act to issue employment certificates.

The person authorized to issue such educational certificates shall, so far as is practicable, require the proof of age stated in section fifty-eight.¹ He shall examine the child and certify whether or not he possesses the educational qualifications [2] enumerated in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended. Every such certificate shall be signed in the presence of the person issuing the same by the child in whose name it is issued.

Every employer of such children shall keep their educational certificates accessible to any officer authorized to enforce the provisions of this act and shall return said certificates to the office from which they were issued within two days after the date of the termination of the employment of said children. If the educational certificate of any child who is over sixteen and under twenty-one years of age fails to show

¹ Acts of 1909, chapter 514, section 58.

² Ability to read, write, and spell in the English language, as is required for the completion of the sixth grade.

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that said child possesses the educational qualifications enumerated in section one of chapter forty-four of the Revised Laws, as amended, then no person shall employ such child while a public evening school is maintained in the city or town in which the child resides, unless such child is a regular attendant at such evening school or at a day school, and presents to his employer each week a school record of such attendance. When such record shows unexcused absences, such attendance shall be deemed to be irregular and insufficient. The person authorized to issue educational certificates, or teachers acting under his authority, may, however, excuse justifiable absence. Whoever employs a child in violation of the provisions of this section shall forfeit not more than one hundred dollars for each offense, to the use of the evening schools of such city or town. A parent, guardian or custodian who permits a child to be employed in violation of the provisions of this section shall forfeit not more than twenty dollars, to the use of the evening schools of such city or town.

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TABLE IX

STANDARD SCORES OR AVERAGE RESULTS BY GRADES IN TESTS OF
IMMIGRANT CLASSES IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON

CITY	GRADE	SILENT READING			SPELL- ING		COM- POSITION		ORAL READING		
		Number Tested	Questions Answered per 2 Minutes	Average Per Cent of Accuracy	Number Tested	Average Per Cent of Accuracy	Number Tested	Average Per Cent of Accuracy	Number Tested	Number Seconds Re- quired to Read All Paragraphs	Mistakes Made
New York	First-year . . .	25	5.5	63	26	16	25	37	10	185	36 0
	Second-year	189	7.6	73	182	31	182	59	165	148	26 0
	Third-year	147	9.3	85	150	52	150	69	112	108	22 0
	Fourth-year	23	9.7	81	19	72	19	84	16	86	7 8
Boston	Beginners.	126	4.7	62	93	10	93	44 ¹	.. ²	..	.
	Intermediate	143	6.7	70	114	20	114	45	..	..	.
	Advanced.	129	7.5	81	130	34	130	63	..	..	.
	Mixed. . . .	54	6.6	79	50	28	50	51	..	..	.
	Ungraded	17	6.5	69	17	48	17	70	..	..	..

¹ For this group the average was 37.8, if two classes making extremely high scores are omitted

² No tests given.

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TABLE X

COMPARISON OF CLASS SCORES WITH STANDARD SCORES AND GRADE LIMITS

NEW YORK					BOSTON				
	Questions Answered	Average Per Cent of Accuracy				Questions Answered	Average Per Cent of Accuracy		
	Silent Reading	Silent Reading	Spelling	Composition		Silent Reading	Silent Reading	Spelling	Composition
2d-year standards ...	7.6	73	31	59	Intermediate standards	6 7	70	20	45
2d-year limits	6.5-8.5	68-79	24-42	48-64	Intermediate limits	5 7-7.1	66-76	15-27	40-54
Class A.....	4 5	64	11	66	Class A..	1 0	44	5	.
" B.....	6 0	73	19	23	" B..	5 0	58	15	27
" C.....	7 0	62	23	48	" C..	5 5	73	12	43
" D.....	7 0	58	35	60	" D..	5 5	66	14	55
" E.....	7 3	81	32	81	" E..	6 0	68	18	30
" F.....	7 6	68	27	60	" F..	6 5	84	12	.
" G.....	9 0	71	54	78	" G..	7 0	77	18	43
" H.....	9 0	88	40	63	" H..	7 6	82	41	68
" I.....	9 7	76	35	58	" I..	8 0	84	38	35
" J..	13 0	91	34	67	" J..	8 0	84	27	45
3d-year standards	9 3	85	52	69	Advanced standards	7 5	81	34	63
Class K..	5 2	80	45	75	Class K...	4 0	85	40	86
" L..	7 8	84	54	67	" L...	5 5	72	18	74
" M..	8 0	91	33	64	" M...	6 5	90	46	60
" N..	9 0	80	39	50	" N...	6 5	76	16	42
" O..	9 5	81	45	61	" O...	6.7	83	38	70
" P..	10 0	84	57	68	" P...	7.3	74	39	63
" Q..	10.1	85	60	81	" Q...	7.5	88	39	40
" R..	10.7	87	65	73	" R..	7 7	74	27	58
					" S..	8 0	83	29	62
					" T..	10 0	88	44	72

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TABLE XI

RANGE OF INDIVIDUAL ABILITY IN SELECTED CLASSES SCORING
WITHIN GRADE LIMITS

SUBJECT	TEST	NEW YORK SECOND- YEAR CLASS F			BOSTON INTERMEDIATE- YEAR CLASS G		
		Per Cent of Class Membership			Per Cent of Class Membership		
		Below Grade Limits	Within Grade Limits	Above Grade Limits	Below Grade Limits	Within Grade Limits	Above Grade Limits
Silent reading	Rate. . .	27	42	31	8	59	33
	Accuracy... .	35	4	61	25	25	50
Spelling.....	Accuracy.....	44	20	36	69	0	31
Composition.	Accuracy.....	46	12	42	46	23	31
Oral reading.	Time.....	35	36	29	.. ¹	..	..
	Mistakes. . .	82	18	0	..	..	..
		NEW YORK THIRD- YEAR CLASS P			BOSTON ADVANCED- YEAR CLASS P		
Silent reading	Rate	24	32	44	66	17	17
	Accuracy....	24	20	56	43	14	43
Spelling.....	Accuracy.....	33	29	38	46	0	54
Composition	Accuracy.....	46	33	21	38	23	39
Oral reading.	Time.....	22	22	56	.. ¹
	Mistakes. . .	33	11	56

¹ No oral reading test given.

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TABLE XII

ATTENDANCE BY GRADES AND CLASSES NEW YORK EVENING SCHOOLS

GRADE	CLASS	NUMBER OF PUPILS PRESENT FOR			
		1st Test Only	Both Tests	1st Test Total	2d Test Only
First-year	A	15	10	25	4
	Per Cent	60	40	100	16
Second-year	B	7	11	18	6
	C	10	6	16	4
	D	5	10	15	8
	E	13	15	28	10
	F	3	11	14	3
	G	8	12	20	4
	H	10	15	25	3
	I	8	8	16	7
	J	8	14	22	6
	K	3	12	15	2
	Total	75	114	189	53
	Per Cent	40	60	100	28
Third-year	L	8	16	24	4
	M	8	7	15	5
	N	10	8	18	3
	O	6	8	14	2
	P	7	9	16	5
	Q	8	10	18	8
	R	15	10	25	4
	S	8	9	17	3
	Total	70	77	147	34
	Per Cent	48	52	100	23
Fourth-year	T	9	14	23	3
	Per Cent	39	61	100	13
Total for city		169	215	384	94
Per Cent		44	56	100	24

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TABLE XIIA

ATTENDANCE BY GRADES AND CLASSES, BOSTON EVENING SCHOOLS

GRADE	CLASS	NUMBER PUPILS PRESENT				GRADE	CLASS	NUMBER PUPILS PRESENT			
		1st Test Only	Both Tests	1st Test Total	2d Test Only			1st Test Only	Both Tests	1st Test Total	2d Test Only
Beginners	A	7	4	11	1	Advanced	T	8	8	16	3
	B	3	12	15	1		U	5	11	16	4
	C	10	8	18	4		V	1	6	7	1
	D	6	3	9	0		W	6	7	13	2
	E	13	4	17	0		X	2	10	12	0
	F	4	9	13	0		Y	3	4	7	6
	G	4	8	12	2		Z	10	13	13	1
	H	6	8	14	0		a	8	8	14	2
	I	7	10	17	1		b	4	13	13	2
						c	8	10	18	3	
Total		60	66	126	9	Total..		51	78	129	24
Per Cent ..		48	52	100	7	Per Cent .		40	61	100	19
Intermediate	J	10	9	19	2	Mixed	d	3	7	10	1
	K	7	5	12	2		e	4	5	9	3
	L	10	7	17	2		f	3	12	15	3
	M	2	9	11	3		g	8	12	20	4
	N	2	9	11	2	Total		18	36	54	11
	O	7	8	15	1	Per Cent . .		33	67	100	20
	P	3	13	16	1	Ungraded	h	5	4	9	4
	Q	4	8	12	0		i	1	7	8	2
	R	11	9	20	5						
		2	8	10	5						
Total		58	85	143	23	Total. . .		6	11	17	6
Per Cent . .		41	59	100	16	Per Cent . .		35	65	100	35
Total for city								193	276	469	73
Per Cent								41	59	100	16
Total, New York and Boston								362	491	853	167
Per Cent								42	58	100	20

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TABLE XIII

SCORES IN FIRST TEST OF THOSE WHO LEFT AND THOSE WHO STAYED

SUBJECT	TEST	NEW YORK			BOSTON		
		Grade	Scores of Those Who		Grade	Scores of Those Who	
			Left	Stayed		Left	Stayed
Silent reading	Rate .	First.	4 3	7 7	Beginners ...	4 0	4 5
		Second	6 7	8 4	Intermediate .	6 4	5 7
		Third	7 5	8 6	Advanced ..	6 5	6 0
	Accuracy.	First .	45	51	Beginners	48	54
		Second	76	73	Intermediate..	69	73
		Third	83	88	Advanced .	80	82
Spelling	Accuracy	First	16	14	Beginners ..	10	9
		Second	32	30	Intermediate	17	22
		Third	48	55	Advanced...	33	35
Composition.	Accuracy	First	22	38	Beginners. ..	48	42
		Second	58	56	Intermediate...	41	53
		Third	63	68	Advanced	63	57
Oral reading	Time	First	197	173			
		Second	131	149			
		Third	100	121			
	Mistakes	First	39	33			
		Second	32	23			
		Third	21	24			

TABLE XIV

SPELLING ABILITY OF PUPILS WHO LEFT AND PUPILS WHO STAYED

CITY	GRADE	TYPE OF PUPIL	NUMBER OF PUPILS	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN			PER CENT OF PUPILS IN		
				Lower Quarter	Middle Half	Upper Quarter	Lower Quarter	Middle Half	Upper Quarter
Boston	Beginners.	Stayed .	49	10	29	10	42	56	42
		Left... .	51	14	23	14	58	44	58
		Total...	100	24	52	24			
	Intermediate	Stayed .	59	12	30	17	52	60	63
		Left .	41	11	20	10	48	40	37
		Total.	100	23	50	27			..
	Advanced	Stayed .	57	13	28	16	58	66	76
		Left . .	29	9 5	14 5	5	42	34	24
		Total .	86	22 5	42 5	21			.
New York	Third-year.	Stayed	57	15	27	15	60	52	65
		Left .	43	10	25	8	40	48	35
		Total	100	25	52	23	.		

TABLE XV

AVERAGE PROGRESS BY GRADES BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Subject	Test	Score Comparisons	New York Pupils				Boston Pupils				
			1st-year	2d-year	3d-year	4th-year	Begin-ners	Inter-mediate	Ad-vanced	Mixed	Un-graded
Silent reading	Rate..	Number tested. . . .	10	114	77	14	66	85	78	36	11
		1st score ..	7 7	8 4	8 6	11 7	4 7	5 6	6 2	6 1	5 6
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	5 1	3 1	3 7	3 1	0 8	1 4	0 8	1 4	1 1
		Per cent of gain. ..	66	37	43	26	17	25	13	23	20
	Accuracy	1st score ..	51 0	71 2	88 0	85 7	54 2	72 8	81 0	80 4	81 8
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	17 0	11 3	4 5	8 6	21 5	3 2	8 5	2 1	4 0
		Per cent of possible gain	35	39	38	60	47	12	47	11	25
Spelling.	Accuracy	Number tested	10	114	83	14	73	84	86	31	10
		1st score ..	13 6	30 0	55 0	75 0	9 3	22 4	34 8	23 2	48 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	6 4	10 5	10 4	5 0	4 5	10 9	22 2	11 4	15 6
		Per cent of possible gain	7	24	23	20	5	14	34	15	30
Composition	Accuracy	Number tested.	11	113	83	14	57	68	69	25	12
		1st score	38 2	55 7	68 0	91 0	41 8	53 0	57 4	59 6	70 7
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	12 4	3 7	0 3	2 4	10 6	1 3	14 7	3 1	-4 5
		Per cent of possible gain	20	8	20	27	18	3	34	8	-10
Oral reading	Time.	Number tested. .	5	101	60	13					
		1st score ..	173 1	149 4	121 1	79 7					
		Gain of 2d over 1st score	43 2	14 6	10 0	7 1					
		Per cent of gain ...	25	10	8	9					
	Mistakes	1st score ..	33 0	23 4	23 5	7 1					
		Gain ..	15 4	1 6	4 5	0 8					
		Per cent of gain	47 0	7 0	19 1	11 8					

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

TABLE XVI

VARIAION IN AMOUNT OF PROGRESS IN CLASSES OF SAME GRADE

NEW YORK							BOSTON						
	SPELLING			COMPOSITION				SPELLING			COMPOSITION		
	1st Score	Gain in 2d over 1st Score	Per Cent of Possible Gain	1st Score	Gain in 2d over 1st Score	Per Cent of Possible Gain		1st Score	Gain in 2d over 1st Score	Per Cent of Possible Gain	1st Score	Gain in 2d over 1st Score	Per Cent of Possible Gain
2 d - year standard	30	16.5	24	55	7	3 7 8	Interme- diate stand- ard	22	4	10 9	14	53	0 1 2 13
Class A	10	28 0	31	49	-1 6	.	Class A	4	1 5	2			
" B..	17	4 0	5	21	4 6	6	" F.	11	2 5	3			
" C.	22	5 8	7	49	2 7	5	" E.	15	11 0	13	45	7 1	13
" D..	33	27 0	40	80	5 1	26	" D..	15	7 5	9	63	-2 9	
" F...	34	19 0	29	70	3 0	10	" C.	15	5 9	6	32	2 8	4
" I...	34	9 9	16	65	-2 5	.	" J..	20	7 5	9	42	13 0	22
" D.	36	10 0	16	56	2 4	5	" G...	21	29 0	37	47	17 0	32
" G...	42	24 0	41	40	5 6	9	" B...	22	11 0	14	27	5 7	8
" H...	45	9 4	17	68	5 6	18	" H.	39	16 0	26	67	-0 4	
" J....	53	12 0	25	65	2 8	8	" I...	56	14 0	32	33	17 0	25
3 d - year standard..	55	10.4	23	68	6 3	20	Advanced standard	34	8	22 2	34	57	4 14 7 34
Class O..	32	4 0	6	46	20 0	37	Class N.	17	71 0	86	42	38 0	66
" M....	39	9 0	15	70	7 7	26	" L.	20	14 0	17	89	2 9	26
" N....	39	10 0	16	53	-4 0		" R.	31	12 0	17	60	12 0	30
" K.	53	13 0	28	60	19 0	47	" K.	32	14 0	21	69	-0 9	
" Q.	61	9 8	25	82	-1 3		" O..	35	43 0	66	74	17 0	65
" L.	62	18 0	47	74	7 6	29	" P.	39	4 6	8	70	-7 6	
" R.	62	17 0	45	77	2 1	9	" S.	40	21 0	35	66	-0 9	
" P.	72	3 3	12	73	1 2	4	" M.	45	23 0	42	61	9 5	24
							" O.	47	-2 0		12	22 0	25
							" T.	50	7 0	14	.	.	.

APPENDIX

TABLE XVII

INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS IN SPELLING IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON
STANDARD CLASSES

NUMBER OF WORDS SPELLED CORRECTLY											
NEW YORK 2D GRADE			NEW YORK 3D GRADE			BOSTON INTER- MEDIATE GRADE			BOSTON ADVANCED GRADE		
1st Test	2d Test	Change	1st Test	2d Test	Change	1st Test	2d Test	Change	1st Test	2d Test	Change
6	14	8	16	23	7	11	19	8	7	16	8
1	7	6	19	23	4	11	15	4	16	23	7
15	19	4	17	21	4	6	10	4	3	7	4
18	21	3	12	16	4	1	5	4	14	15	1
15	18	3	19	22	3	2	4	2			
23	25	2	11	14	3	0	1	1			
4	6	2	18	20	2	10	10	0			
23	24	1	14	16	2	1	1	0			
22	23	1	18	19	1						
61	17	1	20	20	0						
2	2	0	2	1	-1						

TABLE XVIII

TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS TYPES OF WORK BY SUPERVISED AND
UNSUPERVISED TEACHERS

EXERCISE	AVERAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME IN MINUTES	
	Supervised	Unsupervised
Free conversation	15 2	15 7
Silent reading	6 4	3 1
Oral reading	25 4	27 9
Composition	22 0	19 7
Spelling	15 7	21 3
Unusual forms of activity	10 5	8 5
Interruptions	4 5	4 3
Total length of session . . .	99 7	100 5
Average rating of teachers	3 88	3 40
Number of teachers	10	10
Number of pupils	195	193

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF SUPERVISED AND UNSUPERVISED TEACHERS IN
STIMULATING SELF-DIRECTED ACTIVITY AMONG PUPILS IN
CLASSROOM WORK

(Ratings of teachers are average of ratings of 8 observers. Maxi-
mum possible rating, 50)

SUPERVISED		UNSUPERVISED	
Teacher	Rating	Teacher	Rating
A.. ..	4 52	D	4 11
B.. ..	4 46	H. .	4 00
C. . . .	4 43	S	3 70
E. . . .	4 06	T	3 68
F. . . .	4 00	J	3 67
G. . . .	4 00	K	3 63
I. . . .	3 75	M	3 35
L. . . .	3 42	O. . . .	3 16
N. . . .	3 29	Q	2 91
P. . . .	2 92	R	1 81
Median . . .	4 00	Median . . .	3 65
Median for both groups		3 69	

TABLE XX

PROGRESS UNDER SUPERVISED AND UNSUPERVISED TEACHERS

EXERCISE		SCORE AND COMPARISONS	TEACHER GROUP	
			Super-vised	Unsuper-vised
Silent reading	Rate.. .	First score	9 0	8 3
		Gain in 2d over 1st score . . .	3 9	3 0
		Per cent of gain.	43	36
	Accuracy	1st score	70 0	75 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score. . . .	17 6	10 3
		Per cent of possible gain	59	41
Spelling.. .	Accuracy	1st score.... .	46 0	38 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score . . .	11 7	12 0
		Per cent of possible gain . . .	22	19
Composition	Accuracy	1st score..... .	64 0	59 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	2 2	7 1
		Per cent of possible gain	6	17
Oral reading	Time.....	1st score..	164 0	127 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score..... .	10 6	12 1
		Per cent of gain	10	9
	Mistakes	1st score.... .	26 0	19 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score	6 0	0 3
		Per cent of gain.	23	2
Average rating of teachers			3 88	3 40
Number of teachers			10	10
Number of pupils			106	109

APPENDIX

TABLE XXI

ATTENDANCE IN CLASSES HAVING SUPERVISED AND UNSUPERVISED TEACHERS

TEACHER GROUP	CLASS	NUMBER OF PUPILS PRESENT FOR							
		1st Test Only		Both Tests		1st Test Total		2d Test Only	
		Num-ber	Per Cent ¹	Num-ber	Per Cent ¹	Num-ber	Per Cent ¹	Num-ber	Per Cent ¹
Supervised	A	10	56	8	44	18	100	3	17
	B	13	46	15	54	28	100	10	36
	C	3	21	11	79	14	100	3	21
	D	8	40	12	60	20	100	4	20
	E	10	40	15	60	25	100	3	12
	F	6	43	8	57	14	100	2	14
	G	7	44	9	56	16	100	5	31
	H	8	44	10	56	18	100	8	44
	I	15	60	10	40	25	100	4	16
	J	8	50	8	50	16	100	7	44
	Total.	88	45	106	55	194	100	49	25
Unsupervised	K	9	39	14	61	23	100	3	13
	L	15	60	10	4	25	100	4	16
	M	7	39	11	61	18	100	6	33
	N	10	62	6	38	16	100	4	25
	O	8	33	16	67	24	100	4	17
	P	8	53	7	47	15	100	5	33
	Q	5	33	10	67	15	100	8	53
	R	8	36	14	64	22	100	6	27
	S	3	20	12	80	15	100	2	13
	T	8	47	9	53	17	100	3	18
	Total.	81	43	109	57	190	100	45	24

¹ Per cent of total number of pupils who were present for first test.

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

TABLE XXII

AMOUNTS OF TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS TYPES OF WORK BY
TEACHERS USING DIFFERENT METHODS

AVERAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME IN MINUTES			
EXERCISE	TEACHER GROUP		
	Group I ¹	Group II ²	Group III ³
Free conversation	15 9	13 5	13 9
Silent reading.	4 7	5 2	4 7
Oral reading	24 7	30 8	27 1
Composition	19 7	19 7	23 4
Spelling	15 5	20 1	24 4
Unusual forms of activity	12 1	8.5	7 6
Interruptions	4 9	3 9	3 8
Total length of session	97 5	101 7	104 9
Average rating of teachers	4.26	3 75	2 91
Number of teachers	6	6	6
Number of pupils	57	66	68

¹ Comprising 6 teachers showing the 6 highest ratings in stimulating self-directed activity among pupils in classroom work

² Comprising 6 teachers showing the 6 medium ratings in stimulating self-directed activity among pupils in classroom work

³ Comprising 6 teachers showing the 6 lowest ratings in stimulating self-directed activity among pupils in classroom work.

APPENDIX

TABLE XXIII

PROGRESS OF PUPILS IN CLASSES OF TEACHERS USING DIFFERENT METHODS

EXERCISE		SCORE AND COMPARISONS	TEACHER GROUP		
			Group I	Group II	Group III
Silent reading	Rate..	1st score	8 8	8 7	8 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	3 9	4 0	2 1
		Per cent of gain. . . .	44	46	26
		Corrected for time. . . .	44	42	26
	Accuracy	1st score ...	80 0	77 0	77 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	8 0	8 7	8 0
		Per cent of possible gain ..	40	38	35
		Corrected for time. . .	40	34	35
Spelling.	Accuracy	1st score	44	44	39 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	9	13	13 6
		Per cent of possible gain	16	23	22
		Corrected for time . .	25	28	22
Composition.	Accuracy	1st score	52 0	70 0	62 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	4 1	4 4	4 3
		Per cent of possible gain	8	15	11
		Corrected for time	8	15	10
Oral reading	Time	1st score	141 0	147 0	131 0
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	17 8	16 3	6 5
		Per cent of gain	13	11	5
		Corrected for time. . .	16	11	6
	Mistakes.	1st score	23 1	30 5	19 4
		Gain in 2d over 1st score .	1 1	9 5	-0 1
		Per cent of gain	5	31	-0 4
		Corrected for time	6	31	. .
Average rating of teachers			4 26	3 75	2 91
Number of teachers			6	6	6
Number of pupils			62	69	69

SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

TABLE XXIV

COMPARISON OF ATTENDANCE IN CLASSES OF TEACHERS USING
DIFFERENT METHODS

TEACHER GROUP	CLASS	NUMBER OF PUPILS PRESENT FOR							
		1st Test Only		Both Tests		1st Test Total		2d Test Only	
		Num- ber	Per Cent ¹	Num- ber	Per Cent ¹	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent ¹
Group I	A	3	21	11	79	14	100	3	21
	B	15	60	10	40	25	100	4	16
	C	8	50	8	50	16	100	7	44
	D	7	39	11	61	18	100	6	33
	E	7	44	9	56	16	100	5	31
	F	6	43	8	57	14	100	2	14
	Total	46	45	57	55	103	100	27	26
Group II	G	8	44	10	56	18	100	8	45
	H	8	53	7	47	15	100	5	33
	I	13	46	15	54	28	100	10	36
	J	10	62	6	38	16	100	4	25
	K	8	33	16	67	24	100	4	17
	L	8	40	12	60	20	100	4	20
	Total	55	45	66	55	121	100	35	29
Group III	M	8	47	9	53	17	100	3	18
	N	10	56	8	44	18	100	3	17
	O	8	36	14	64	22	100	6	27
	P	10	40	15	60	25	100	3	12
	Q	3	20	12	80	15	100	2	13
	R	5	33	10	67	15	100	8	53
	Total	44	39	68	61	112	100	25	22

¹ Per cent of total number of pupils enrolled who were present for first test.

APPENDIX

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF SPELLING ERRORS IN COMPOSITION TEST FOR
EACH SET OF AYRES SPELLING SCALE

NEW YORK					BOSTON				
Set	Errors		Different Words		Set	Errors		Different Words	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
A	6	0.4	2	0.7	A	11	0.6	2	0.6
B	12	0.7	4	1.0	B	21	1.0	4	1.0
C	18	1.0	6	2.0	C	48	2.0	7	2.0
D	29	2.0	5	2.0	D	31	2.0	6	2.0
E	117	7.0	12	4.0	E	135	7.0	16	4.0
F	95	6.0	13	4.0	F	131	7.0	16	4.0
G	114	7.0	14	4.0	G	162	8.0	20	6.0
H	161	10.0	31	10.0	H	205	10.0	30	8.0
I	138	8.0	20	6.0	I	159	8.0	29	8.0
J	234	14.0	33	10.0	J	304	15.0	35	10.0
K	105	6.0	34	11.0	K	160	8.0	41	12.0
L	139	8.0	38	12.0	L	204	10.0	37	10.0
M	100	6.0	19	6.0	M	99	5.0	24	7.0
N	126	7.0	25	8.0	N	113	6.0	25	7.0
O	61	4.0	16	5.0	O	48	2.0	14	4.0
P	36	2.0	13	4.0	P	46	2.0	16	5.0
Q	21	1.0	9	3.0	Q	18	1.0	12	3.0
R	17	1.0	8	2.0	R	47	2.0	8	2.0
S	98	6.0	7	2.0	S	38	2.0	8	2.0
T	11	0.6	4	1.0	T	7	0.3	4	1.0
U	8	0.4	4	1.0	U	3	0.1	2	0.6
V	1	0.6	1	0.3	V	3	0.1	1	0.2
W	1	0.6	1	0.3	W	0	0.0	0	0.0
X	0	0.0	0	0.0	X	0	0.0	0	0.0
Y	1	0.6	1	0.3	Y	0	0.0	0	0.0
Z	0	0.0	0	0.0	Z	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	1,649	99.9	320	99.6	Total	1,993	99.1	357	99.4

	New York	Boston
Number of papers.....	704	722
Total number of errors tabulated.....	2,482	2,869
Number of different words misspelled.....	663	735
Total number of errors in words of Ayres scale.....	1,649	1,993
Per cent of total number of errors.....	66.4	69.5
Different words misspelled found in Ayres scale.....	320	357
Per cent of different words misspelled found in Ayres scale.....	48.3	49.0

TABLE XXVI

NUMBER OF PLACES IN EACH STATE REPORTING PUBLIC-SCHOOL PROVISION FOR THE FOREIGN BORN IN 1918-19, 1917-18, AND 1914-16

STATE	NUMBER OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1910	RANK IN PER CENT FOREIGN BORN	NUMBER OF PLACES HAVING OVER 2,500*	PLACES IN 1918-19				PLACES IN 1917-18				NO. OF PLACES REPORTING NO. OF CLASSES BOTH 1917-18 AND 1918-19	NUMBER OF CLASSES				PLACES IN 1914-15				INCREASE OR DECREASE IN PLACES REPORTING PROVISION 1914-15 TO 1918-19				
				Report- ing		Not Responding	Provision	Report- ing		Not Responding	Provision		Report- ing Con- tinued Provision	Not Re- sponding For	Total:	Number	Per Cent								
				No Provision	Provision			No Provision	Provision																
																		Provision	No Provision	Provision		No Provision			
Total for U. S.	13,345,545	2,404	2,404	804	1,486	414	77,433	1,510	461	54	475,175	115,185	3,146	731,630	101	3	350	246	258	59	60	45	32	154	44
1 N. Y.	2,720,272	17	148	50	84	14	308	96	16	3	40	26	8	829	705	107,231	124	15	29	24	10	6	5	10	25
2 Pa.	1,435,719	3	148	50	84	14	37	171	31	3	10	19	12	231	228	39	42	11	40	18	8	3	2	11	24
3 Ill.	1,203,560	14	145	28	175	48	2	37	171	31	38	10	9	231	228	42	23	11	27	13	9	3	2	11	24
4 Mass.	1,051,050	2	147	74	58	15	4	20	81	38	69	15	24	245	245	46	25	11	27	13	9	3	2	11	24
5 N. J.	597,245	16	133	16	106	21	1	28	60	17	4	25	6	135	135	16	23	7	17	17	9	4	4	0	10
6 Ohio	593,524	16	133	16	106	21	1	18	93	22	4	18	6	135	135	16	23	7	17	17	9	4	4	0	10
7 Mich.	557,245	26	166	31	41	0	23	45	10	2	28	6	4	102	93	24	37	12	7	11	7	7	2	14	82
8 Minn.	543,010	8	49	21	22	6	3	28	9	2	20	13	2	102	93	24	37	12	7	11	7	7	2	14	82
9 Wis.	517,250	11	69	28	30	11	5	33	33	0	2	13	2	120	122	55	6	5	6	5	4	1	1	16	200
10 Cal.	512,560	13	71	23	44	6	3	44	44	8	7	13	2	120	122	55	6	5	6	5	4	1	1	16	200
11 Conn.	473,489	20	79	11	68	14	1	58	17	2	10	13	2	103	100	70	16	5	19	12	2	2	1	16	133
12 La.	441,010	25	88	19	69	14	1	58	17	2	10	13	2	103	100	70	16	5	19	12	2	2	1	16	133
13 Wash.	273,484	28	71	11	46	14	4	28	21	10	33	15	2	14	12	1	3	10	14	10	1	1	2	4	73
14 Iowa	241,197	15	29	18	16	32	2	16	6	2	8	2	4	12	1	4	5	6	4	4	1	1	2	4	73
15 Wash.	239,083	34	91	4	55	32	1	3	56	32	8	2	4	12	1	4	5	6	4	4	1	1	2	4	73
16 Tex.	228,896	36	50	12	45	12	2	45	12	2	8	2	4	12	1	4	5	6	4	4	1	1	2	4	73
17 Mo.	178,025	1	24	12	18	2	5	12	10	2	13	2	1	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
18 N. D.	159,325	37	87	6	66	12	1	6	6	1	13	2	1	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
19 Ind.	156,158	5	13	0	7	6	1	6	6	1	13	2	1	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
20 N. D.	135,196	24	55	0	44	5	2	7	43	8	8	2	4	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
21 Kan.	130,851	21	27	5	15	7	1	3	16	3	8	2	4	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
22 Colo.	110,133	23	49	7	33	6	1	7	33	9	4	2	3	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
23 Me.	104,171	31	1	1	15	3	1	1	15	3	4	2	1	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73
24 Md.	104,171	31	1	1	15	3	1	1	15	3	4	2	1	97	88	11	10	6	3	2	2	2	2	4	73

* As listed in *Educational Directory*, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 43 (1917-18), with over 2,500 population, including 64 places under 1,500.
 * As reported in *Public Facilities for Educating the Alien*, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 10 (1910).

TABLE XXVI—(Continued)

[illegible]

¹ Thirteenth United States Census, vol. 1. ² As listed in *Educational Directory*, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 43 (1917-18), with over 3,500 population, including 69 places under 2,500. ³ As reported in *Public Facilities for Educating the Alien*, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18 (1916).

TABLE XXVII

PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION IN EACH STATE FOR THE FOREIGN
BORN IN PLACES CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER AND PER CENT
OF FOREIGN BORN

See folded insert opposite

